



Should the government slow down the decline of minority communities?

Gazzola, M., Wickström, B-A., & Templin, T. (2018). Should the government slow down the decline of minority communities? In F. Grin (Ed.), *The MIME vademecum: Mobility and inclusion in multilingual Europe* (pp. 58-59). Artgraphic Cavin.

[Link to publication record in Ulster University Research Portal](#)

Published in:

The MIME vademecum: Mobility and inclusion in multilingual Europe

Publication Status:

Published (in print/issue): 01/01/2018

Document Version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

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MOBILITY AND INCLUSION IN MULTILINGUAL EUROPE

THE MIME VADEMECUM





MIME
Mobility and Inclusion
in Multilingual Europe

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Community's Seventh Framework Programme under grant agreement No. 613344 (MIME Project).

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ISBN 978-2-8399-2402-3

MIME Project

Mobility and Inclusion in Multilingual Europe

www.mime-project.org

Cover picture:

Ferdinand Hodler, 1917, "Die Dents-du-Midi von Caux aus",
Wikimedia Commons.

Copy editing:

Kevin Cook.

Typesetting, cover, and book design:

Filippo Gander, SCIPROM Sàrl, St-Sulpice, Switzerland.

Printed in June 2018 by Artgraphic Cavin SA, Grandson, Switzerland.

This book is typeset in Calibre, by Klim Type Foundry
and PMN Caecilia, by Linotype.

THE MIME VADEMECUM

Mobility and Inclusion in Multilingual Europe

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MIME Project —A quantitative portrait

- ➔ approximately 1,500 pages of scientific and activity reports
- ➔ more than 260 presentations at scientific conferences and public events
- ➔ over 40 dedicated conferences and thematic workshops
- ➔ over 60 scientific publications specifically devoted to project results
- ➔ participation by some 220 stakeholder organisations from civil society and administration in project activities
- ➔ 22 partner institutions in 16 countries
- ➔ some 70 scholars, from PhD students to full professors
- ➔ 11 participating disciplines
- ➔ 4 years of research





and a pool of experts at your disposal, who can be contacted for specialist analytical and evaluation work at www.mime-project.org/expertise

Acknowledgements












Throughout the MIME project (2014–2018) the participating research teams have been fortunate to be able to count on a highly experienced Advisory Board, including Joe LoBianco, Amin Maalouf, Tove Malloy, Tom Moring and Tom Ricento. We wish to express our gratitude for their support.

Special thanks go to Professor Tom Moring, Chairman of the Advisory Board, whose expertise in both multilingualism and communication has proved invaluable in the production of this Vademecum, and to Professor Wolfgang Mackiewicz, Special Project Advisor, who has generously shared with us his deep experience of European institutions and his long-term view of what multilingual Europe is about. Their comments and advice have greatly contributed to the shaping of this volume.

Thematic areas

-  Language policy analysis
-  Minorities, majorities, and language rights
-  Linguistic diversity, mobility, and integration
-  Language education, teaching, and learning
-  Translation, language technologies, and alternative strategies
-  Special topics

MIME disciplines

-  Economics
-  Educational Sciences
-  Finance
-  Law
-  Political Philosophy
-  Political Science
-  Psychology
-  Sociolinguistics
-  Sociology
-  Translation Studies
-  Urban Geography

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How to use this book

- 1. Read the introduction**
to get an overview of the MIME project
- 2. Check the “Key Results”**
to access our main conclusions and findings
- 3. Wander through the 72 entries**
in accordance with your own interests and needs

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Backcover text of paperback edition

This Vademecum is a practical tool resulting from the MIME project on Mobility and Inclusion in Multilingual Europe funded by the European Commission. Using a novel approach combining eleven different disciplines, this Vademecum offers an innovative and integrated response to language policy challenges usually considered separately. It is intended for people whose professional or political activities lead them to consider matters of multilingualism, take a stand on those issues and, directly or indirectly, shape language policy decisions at local, national or supra-national level.

Introduction

The MIME Vademecum: an Introduction

François Grin

MIME Project coordinator

MIME is a research project on multilingualism (2014–2018) financed by the European Commission under FP7

This Vademecum offers a set of tools and research results

MIME stands for “Mobility and Inclusion in Multilingual Europe”. It is a research project on multilingualism financed by the European Commission’s Directorate-General for Research and Innovation. Over its four years of operation (2014–2018), the project has generated a large number of publications such as articles in scientific journals, book chapters and special journal issues, as well as regular progress reports.

The *MIME Vademecum* is one of the main outputs of the project. However, it stands apart from the rest of the MIME output, like standard scientific publications such as articles in scientific journals, books or book chapters. The *MIME Vademecum* is different because of its goals, structure and format.

This Vademecum is first and foremost a tool for people who are generally not involved in academic research, but whose professional or political activities lead them to consider matters of multilingualism, take a stand on those issues and, directly or indirectly, shape language policy decisions at local, national or supra-national level. As part of these duties, they therefore repeatedly face the need to weigh the respective advantages and drawbacks of the policy measures that different social and political actors propose for dealing with multilingualism. The *MIME Vademecum* is intended to help them deal with this type of situation.

This introduction serves three purposes:

1. it reviews the essential features of the MIME project. This helps to approach the rest of the Vademecum with a deeper understanding of the challenges of linguistic diversity;
2. it presents the structure of the Vademecum, explaining what this volume offers (but also, no less importantly, what it is not intended to provide);
3. it contains practical indications on how to use this Vademecum.

MIME offers an innovative approach to language policy selection and design with (i) a policy analysis angle, (ii) an interdisciplinary perspective combining eleven different disciplines, (iii) a diversity management framework that integrates language questions usually considered separately

The MIME project addresses the *multilingual challenge for the European citizen*. In response to the request of the European Commission, it examines a very wide range of aspects of multilingualism, resulting in a project of unusual scope. MIME addresses the following questions:

- ▶ How can Europeans balance the requirements of mobility in a modern, integrated, technologically advanced society with the need to maintain and take advantage of Europe's linguistic and cultural diversity?
- ▶ What does this challenge imply in terms of communication practices, language use and language rights, language teaching and learning?
- ▶ How does this translate into policies regarding national languages, minority languages, and immigrant or heritage languages?

These questions go well beyond what most approaches to language policy normally deal with. The MIME project is therefore also designed to foster innovation in the field of language policy at three main levels.

First, its approach is anchored in public policy analysis. This distinguishes it from other research on language and multilingualism, which often focuses on the observation of actors' linguistic practices in particular settings. Instead, the MIME project offers an integrated framework where a wide range of insights, from recent sociolinguistic work on micro-level processes to macro-level considerations on linguistic justice originating in political theory, can mesh into a policy-oriented perspective.

Second, the MIME project is deeply interdisciplinary. The project partners represent eleven different disciplines, including political science, philosophy, sociolinguistics, translation studies, sociology, education sciences, history, economics, geography, law, and psychology. However, the team leaders all have previous experience in the application of their particular discipline to linguistic and/or cultural diversity. Crucially, these disciplinary orientations are evenly distributed in the project, allowing a balanced and comprehensive approach to the management of linguistic diversity.

Third, the MIME project jointly considers a wide range of language issues that are usually addressed separately, allowing for a comprehensive approach to the management of linguistic diversity. It simultaneously considers issues such as:

**We need to
rethink language
planning in
response to profound
changes due to
globalisation and
technological
development**

- ▶ the protection and promotion of regional and minority languages in Europe;
- ▶ the presence and visibility, in an EU member state, of the official languages of other member states (as a result of intra-European mobility);
- ▶ the challenges of effective second and foreign language learning in education systems, which raises, in particular, the issue of the special role of major languages, including one or more lingua francas;
- ▶ the language issues surrounding the presence of other (often extra-European) languages accompanying migration flows;
- ▶ the problem of efficient and fair communication in multilingual organisations – not least the European institutions themselves;
- ▶ a number of specific questions connected to the management of multilingualism, such as the linguistic dimensions of consumer protection or the specific language needs of retirees settling in another EU member state.

Until now, these various challenges have usually been studied in relative isolation from each other, using approaches that prioritise one particular angle (mostly applied linguistics or the education sciences, often political science, occasionally international law, less frequently other disciplines). However, the attention devoted to one particular issue, from the perspective of one given discipline, risks relegating to the background equally pressing questions, and no less relevant perspectives on them.

A fragmented approach to the management of linguistic diversity is increasingly unsatisfactory as a result of two major trends. The first of these trends is globalisation, which increases the frequency of interlinguistic contact. Linguistic diversity has become an inescapable feature of modern societies, at the workplace, in the classroom or during one's free time, and it pervades economic life (production, consumption, and exchange). The second major trend is technological development, particularly in information and communication, both of which are intimately connected with language skills and language use.

Taken together, these trends underscore the fact that societies are experiencing rapid and fundamental change. This change affects language and multilingualism in a number of ways, often blurring the boundaries between types of language challenges. While parsing remains useful for a systematic analysis of contemporary language issues, this analysis

**The interconnections
between the
micro level
(individuals), the
meso level
(organisations) and
the macro level
(state and society)
must be taken into
account**

must also consider them as different facets of one overarching question: what role do we want to give multilingualism in contemporary European society?

Another challenge thrown up by these combined trends is the growing interconnection of levels in language issues, where the micro level (individuals and households), the meso level (organisations, whether non-profit or for-profit, public or private, like universities or private-sector companies) and the macro level (society as whole, whether locally, nationally, or globally) influence each other. This trend is not unique to language, but in the case of language it raises questions of particular complexity. For example, the protection of a minority language can no longer be envisaged strictly within the confines of a particular region: the destiny of the language also depends on its visibility on the Internet and on its availability elsewhere – e.g. in the cities where young members of the community attend university. Likewise, the linguistic integration of migrants may be a more complex and multilingual process than used to be the case. In the past, “integration” often amounted to the acquisition of the local language. However, as a result of technological and cultural change, this learning process is more likely, nowadays, to be associated with various forms of “heritage language” maintenance: the decline in the cost of international travel and telecommunications makes the language of the country of origin readily available in people’s daily life. Geopolitical trends affect activities in the home, just as personal opinions may be given worldwide resonance through social networks. The strength and modalities of these cross-level interactions may vary from case to case, confronting decision-makers responsible for policy choices with very diverse local conditions.

Summing up, the re-thinking of the linguistic challenge requires us to come to grips with a considerable level of complexity and to handle it in a systemic perspective. Received approaches to language policy are not always adequately equipped to deal with this task. The core mission of the MIME project is to provide an analytical framework to deal with this complexity. The project’s overall objective, then, is not to provide a detailed linguistic analysis of communicational processes in specific settings (as has been done in earlier research projects), but to develop an approach generating, at a more general level, consistent policy responses to the challenges of linguistic diversity, while illustrating these responses with applications to specific situations. The MIME project, ultimately, aims at proposing:

Europe as a social and political project requires both mobility and inclusion, but having more of one often means having less of the other, and vice-versa

- ▶ a set of interrelated, mutually compatible analyses of language issues that help to navigate a vast range of questions (political, social, educational, communicational, etc.), while also moving in a consistent way between the micro, meso and macro levels at which linguistic processes unfold;
- ▶ a set of policy-oriented tools that analysts, decision-makers and citizens at large can adapt and apply to specific contexts, also taking account of the rapid changes affecting these contexts.

The MIME project's core analytical reference is the trade-off model, which provides a unifying framework. The project starts out from the idea that the language issues confronting European citizens and their authorities can be approached through the prism of a common problem. This common problem is one of tension between two objectives, namely, mobility and inclusion.

The trade-off model is a classic policy analysis instrument. It may be applied to any problem where society has to make decisions and, in particular, needs to balance commendable, but non-converging goals. Multilingualism is a challenge precisely because it is linked to two distinct goals that aren't easily reconciled:

- ▶ on the one hand, Europe means becoming a strongly integrated union whose citizens can freely move between member states for work, study, leisure or retirement. This is what we call mobility, a notion which denotes a broader range of processes than physical migration and captures the growing multiplicity of motivations and modalities associated with the geographical, or sometimes virtual movement of people. Mobility requires easy communication among people with different linguistic backgrounds. This can be achieved by appropriately combining multiple communication strategies involving language learning as well as various ways of using languages. Mobility, however, challenges the association traditionally made between a particular language and a particular geographical area;
- ▶ on the other hand, the "multilingual challenge" raises issues of inclusion, in which languages play a fundamental role. The range of languages spoken in Europe is crucial to the definition of its diversity, which is recognised as a core value of the Union. This diversity is manifested in the linguistic specificity of different parts of the EU, whose member states have different official languages (sometimes more than one, with various internal arrangements, at national and/or sub-national level, to deal with this diversity). Inclusion, then, refers to a sense of belonging to,

**The tension
between mobility
and inclusion is
particularly acute
in the area
of language**

- ▶ and connection with one's place of residence – perhaps because one was born there, or has moved and chosen to settle there. This sense of belonging may in particular be expressed by participating in the social, political, economic, and cultural life of the country, region and local area of residence. This implies familiarity with the local language. Thus, the conditions required for the maintenance and/or emergence of a sense of belonging and connection requires that the many languages and cultures that make up European diversity are recognised and nurtured. Cultivating this historically anchored diversity, as well as the recognition of the unique character of the elements, big or small, that make up this diversity, do not entail any kind of rejection or exclusion of the other. Quite the contrary, it is the preservation of this linguistic environment that enables long-time residents to feel secure in their ability to extend inclusion to newcomers. This matters, given the importance that people usually attach to language and culture in identity-building processes. But although inclusion implies the integration of newcomers into local conditions, it does not require newcomers to relinquish the linguistic and cultural features that they bring with them, and it can allow for the emergence of multi-layered identities.

The MIME project, then, builds on the idea that a trade-off problem arises between “mobility” and “inclusion”. On the one hand, if society were to opt for an exclusive emphasis on the necessities of inclusion in a specific place in the EU, this could lead to material or symbolic impediments to citizens’ mobility. Putting it differently, an exclusive emphasis on “inclusion” makes mobility more costly for people, whether in material or symbolic terms. More inclusion will generally entail less mobility. Conversely, an exclusive focus on mobility can have a detrimental effect on inclusion, because it may, through the potentially uniformising forces it abets, erode the sense of place, specificity and rootedness associated with different locales within the EU. At worst, if this focus on mobility is perceived as undermining local languages and cultures, it can cause a negative backlash among some citizens who may feel dispossessed of their sense of place. Untutored mobility can be disruptive for inclusion processes.

In short, we have the typical makings of a trade-off, in which two goals, both worth pursuing, often imply courses of action that can be at odds with each other. In order to resolve the trade-off, the MIME project is aimed at the two following objectives:

MIME's core mission is to identify language policies that can improve compatibility between mobility and inclusion in areas such as language rights, language use in the public sphere, language education, and communication in specific settings

Social cohesion, at the European level, requires a balanced combination of mobility and inclusion, also in terms of language use, language rights and language skills

- ▶ to identify, under existing constraints (which restrict, for the reasons just outlined, the extent of mobility achievable while preserving a certain level of inclusion, and vice-versa), the best balance between mobility and inclusion;
- ▶ to identify policy orientations that can help to relax this constraint – in particular, to formulate measures (or novel combinations of measures) that can increase mobility without impeding inclusion, and improve inclusion without restricting mobility. The guiding principle is that of increasing compatibility between mobility and inclusion.

MIME revisits classic language issues in terms of this trade-off model, in order to bring to light adaptations to existing arrangements that can increase the compatibility between mobility and inclusion in various domains (constitutional arrangements, daily life in diverse neighbourhoods, educational systems, etc.) , and sometimes propose radically novel arrangements. Mobility and inclusion are both crucial to the success of Europe as a political, social, economic and cultural project. They matter in and of themselves, but also as two sides of the same coin, because, taken together, they create the basis for a cohesive European society: cohesion, at the European level, depends on the balanced combination of mobility and inclusion. This balance, of course, is something dynamic that changes over time, but the general perspective on cohesion in the long term can be summarised as follows. Europe will be cohesive:

- ▶ if its citizens can easily move between member states and not be confined to one state where they happen to have been born or to have studied. This requires support for arrangements and institutions that facilitate mobility for work, study, leisure, and retirement. Such support may concern the legal provision of language rights, the design of school syllabuses, the regulation of multilingualism in the packaging of consumer goods, the conditions under which access to public services is guaranteed, etc.;
- ▶ and if, while taking full advantage of the educational, professional and other opportunities offered by mobility, citizens are included in the local community in which they settle, for a short or extended period. This requires support for the vitality of diverse communities, big or small, which differ from each other and manifest their uniqueness, in particular, through their specific linguistic features. Cohesion, therefore, also implies paying attention to the concerns of those who choose not to move or have no particular reason to do so, but who may find themselves in the role of a host society. Their sense of

**Multilingualism
is of crucial
importance
at a time when
the EU as a social and
political project
needs to rethink the
conditions of its
appeal to citizens**

**MIME is not
about a specific facet
of multilingualism,
but about managing
multilingualism
in an integrated fashion,
as a feature that cuts
across different
situations**

- place must not be threatened, but enriched by the arrival of mobile, and linguistically and culturally different, European fellow citizens.

MIME addresses questions that are crucial to Europe as a political, social, economic and cultural project, because the management of multilingualism can significantly contribute to its cohesion (or, if mismanaged, it can seriously hamper it). How the European Union positions itself towards the diversity of its languages also has an impact on how citizens can relate to this enterprise. At a time of rapid change, when ample signals from the ballot box in several member states show that the European Union, as an institution, needs to re-engage with the meaning of Europe as a collective project, the importance of a skilful management of multilingualism cannot be overstated.

Given its thematic scope, the MIME project is not about a specific aspect of multilingualism – like how to better prepare teachers for linguistically diverse classrooms, or design systems for the protection of the language rights of national minorities, or streamline EU translation services, or ensure the linguistic integration of adult migrants. It is about all these questions at once, but first and foremost, it is about developing an integrative approach that explicitly identifies the interconnections between these questions and enables us to think about them jointly. MIME is about how all these questions coalesce into a transversal challenge, and how we can meet this challenge with an integrated language policy. These priorities are reflected in this Vademecum.

This Vademecum is intended as a tool to think about multilingualism as a large-scale issue, and to provide readers with concepts, models, principles, references and, ultimately, inspiration to design their own policy responses to the practical problems that multilingualism poses in specific contexts. Some users, whether in their missions in the national or supranational civil service, or as part of their involvement in politics (whether locally, nationally or supra-nationally), have to ponder a bewildering variety of language questions. These might include the appropriate extent of financial support to be granted to cultural centres catering for a traditional linguistic minority. Other users need to know the pros and cons of alternative approaches to the linguistic integration of adult migrants. The many questions raised in connection with such topics, which at first sight appear to be clearly circumscribed, don't necessarily have a clear, unambiguous answer: for example, the choice of strategies to support host language learning will depend, among other things, on the

This volume provides concepts, models, principles, references, and examples of successful practice

personal profiles of the immigrants concerned, on the traditions of the host society regarding linguistic diversity, on the degree of perceived inter-linguistic distance between the host country's official language(s) and the language(s) used by members of the immigrant group(s) considered, etc. In other words, there's no such thing as a one-size-fits-all solution.

For all these reasons, this Vademecum steers clear from the (debatable) concept of "best practice". What's best is always case-specific, and what works somewhere isn't necessarily relevant elsewhere. Moreover, in a period of accelerated change, what is best at some point may no longer be appropriate just a few years later. Rather, this Vademecum prioritises tools that readers can adopt and adapt to their own purposes. In presenting those tools, our priority is consistency: we make sure that they fit into an integrative perspective on the management of linguistic diversity as a cross-cutting social issue, which is a condition of sound public policy. But we also illustrate them with examples of *successful practice* – a notion that we consider far more fruitful than "best practice". Showing how a problem has been dealt with somewhere doesn't mean that the same strategy should be copied elsewhere; however, the solid analysis of a language problem and targeted information about how it has been successfully addressed in a certain context can equip the reader with useful instruments and provide stimulating inspiration.

In short, rather than issuing recommendations or giving ready-made recipes, this Vademecum aims to help users confront the challenges of linguistic diversity as a large-scale social issue, and to equip them with tools with which they can identify the cornerstones of a policy plan for their own language policy, in their own context, matching their own needs.

Whether in the work of a civil servant in a national or supra-national administration, in the political activity of an elected member of a local, national, or international legislative body, or in public debates involving media people or citizens at large, there are all kinds of situations where orientation is needed.

There's no such thing as a one-size-fits-all solution. We don't give recipes or issue recommendations

This Vademecum will help users develop their autonomy when discussing diversity management issues and weighing the pros and cons of various proposals put forth by other actors or interest groups. Our focus on the notion of tools that our readers can adopt also reflects our awareness of rapid and ubiquitous change. Solutions that may be wise now may no longer be sufficient later – the growing visibility, in recent

**This Vademecum
is a tool for users to
identify priorities
for their own policy
plans, suited to
their own contexts**

years, of the issue of migration flows probably offers the most obvious example of this. Specific solutions are transitory, but tools have a much longer shelf life. By helping users come to grips with key elements of language policy, we hope to give readers a service that will prove useful in the long term.

This Vademecum, which is not meant to automatically generate policy plans, encourages readers to become active participants in the selection, design and evaluation of language policies. The details of policy analysis work can then be entrusted to a specialist language policy task force, but the pages that follow will help civil servants or elected politicians with responsibilities in this area develop a much clearer notion of where they want to get to, and why. Undoubtedly, the *ex ante* selection and design of a language policy, and its *ex post* evaluation is a highly complex enterprise requiring specialist work, which is why language policy professionals are also needed. But as this Vademecum shows, these professionals should be a truly interdisciplinary task force, involving specialists from the full range of the social sciences and humanities. The reason, quite simply, is that linguistic diversity is a reality cutting across various dimensions of the everyday lives of people, organisations, and society as a whole.

Language issues are interrelated, and they form a system. Language policy exists in order to influence this system, which we can also think of as our “linguistic environment”, much as other public policies have been developed in order to manage our natural environment. The linguistic environment is immensely varied. What goes on in specific areas like “intercultural awareness in multilingual schools”, “public service interpreting in courts of law”, “adult language classes in community centres”, etc. is all part of it, and we view them as facets of the overall linguistic environment. The latter therefore encompasses all the linguistic features that characterise the surroundings of our daily life. It includes language rights, language skills, language use, and language representations, across the various “domains” (such as schools, work, administration, etc.) in which humans interact through language.

Although the MIME project addresses multilingualism as an integrated system, it has also been looking at a very wide range of specific language issues – as particular facets of our linguistic environment. The issues addressed in MIME range from the constitutionally defined language rights of national minorities to progress in machine translation, from the role of non-formal education in language training to the mathematical modelling of language dynamics, or from the linguistic dimensions of consumer protection to the language needs

**This book is
neither an encyclopaedia
nor a textbook,
but it offers an extensive,
hands-on coverage of
the linguistic
environment that
language policies
are intended to influence**

**The general principles
and findings also
apply to language
policy issues not
addressed
in this Vademecum**

of internationally mobile retirees, to quote only a few of the issues addressed in the project. Addressing each of them in detail would have required a much larger enterprise – in fact, a full-fledged research programme, resulting in some kind of encyclopaedia of multilingualism. Such an enterprise would require far more than a four-year project.

Accordingly, this Vademecum is not an encyclopaedia. Despite its focus on tools, it's not a textbook either. Our approach here is different, and this Vademecum is closer to a primer, because of its focus on providing the readers with quick access to well-targeted instruments that they can use themselves. We have therefore made a deliberate selection of 72 topics which we consider of particular importance, and are arranged in six groups:

- ▶ language policy analysis (questions 1 to 13)
- ▶ minorities, majorities, and language rights (questions 14 to 25)
- ▶ linguistic diversity, mobility, and integration (questions 26 to 40)
- ▶ language education, teaching, and learning (questions 41 to 53)
- ▶ translation, language technologies, and alternative strategies (questions 54 to 64)
- ▶ special topics (questions 65 to 72)

Within each group, the Vademecum entries have been chosen in such a way as to offer an ample coverage of practical questions, and the entries of this Vademecum can be used as stepping stones in order to approach other questions.

Readers may notice that although we cast the net wide, some aspects of the management of linguistic diversity are not addressed here. For example, we do not investigate language corpus (like spelling reform, terminological innovation, or the choice of an alphabet); we do not discuss cultural manifestations of language in literature and the arts; nor do we address (or only peripherally) topics in language economics such as the rates of return on language skills on the labour market. These questions were not raised in the European Commission's call for proposals, and have therefore been left out of MIME, whose scope already exceeds that of most projects on multilingualism, both in terms of analytical challenges and policy application. However, this Vademecum's anchoring in policy analysis, where the pros and cons of various language

policy scenarios are assessed, provides a natural bridge to some of the economic dimensions of multilingualism, and the literature quoted in several entries provides pointers in this particular direction.

Each entry opens with a title question, to which an answer is then provided. Our priority throughout is effectiveness: each entry fits on a double page. The treatment of the 72 questions addressed in this Vademecum is anchored in our analytical framework and always refers, directly or indirectly, to the trade-off between mobility and inclusion.

Not all readers will be equally interested in each of the questions that we raise. The needs of our readers are likely to differ, if only because of the nature of their activity (as civil servants, as politicians, as media people, or as interested citizens), and not everyone will be looking for the same type of information. Some readers will want to go straight to a few selected entries. However, browsing through the other sections, in particular the one devoted to general language policy issues, can serve to position specific concerns within the broader context of diversity management as a whole, and help readers derive more benefit from this Vademecum.

**The 72 entries
allow quick, effective
and targeted access
to essential language
policy issues**

All the entries are organised in a similar way: following a brief commentary on the opening question, explaining why this question matters, we review major research findings (“What does research tell us?”), encompassing earlier work and connecting it with advances emerging from the MIME project. This is followed by a section (“Illustration and evidence”) focusing on facts and figures, and by a concluding section devoted to “Policy implications”. Finally, in each case, we provide a few references which can be used not just to study a question in more detail, but also to access related language policy topics.

Key Results

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The MIME project generates a wide range of research results providing orientations for the selection and design of language policies in Europe. Let us begin by highlighting **four major conclusions**, from which general policy orientations may be derived.

1

Multilingualism can't be left to itself, and laissez-faire isn't an option. Language policies are an unavoidable facet of governance; they are necessary and justified. Language is deeply intertwined with political, social, economic and cultural processes affecting individuals and groups. Not only do different responses to diversity result in higher or lower levels of well-being across society, but they also imply a more or less just distribution of resources. Furthermore, evidence suggests that policies encouraging individual multilingualism and embracing societal multilingual yield material and symbolic benefits that exceed their costs, and are conducive to more fairness in society. Information about the positive effects, for society as a whole, of policies that accommodate and support diversity, must be disseminated more broadly and systematically.

2

Mobility and inclusion are for everybody; it follows that policies must rest on a comprehensive view of mobility and inclusion. Such a comprehensive vision is necessary in order for linguistic diversity to be experienced positively also by citizens who are not particularly interested in it or concerned by it. Therefore, supporting people's mobility across the European Union must come along with arrangements facilitating the inclusion of mobile persons and groups into the local language(s) and culture(s). Inclusion on local terms helps to make others' mobility non-threatening; it generates the sense of safety that enables residents to make space for newcomers, including the diversity that these newcomers can contribute to local society.

3

Well-designed policies combining mobility and inclusion are often complex, but they are necessary and possible. Combining mobility and inclusion is not easy and there is even a tension between them, since facilitating mobility alone risks undermining inclusion into local society, with its specific linguistic and cultural features; conversely, emphasising inclusion only ignores the challenges of mobility, whose significance increases together with globalisation. Thus, when selecting measures that encourage inclusion, priority should go to those that do not hamper people's capacity to move across the European Union for work, study, leisure, or retirement. Symmetrically, when selecting measures that facilitate mobility, priority should go to those that guarantee the conditions needed for the linguistic and cultural features of each locale to blossom, with their specific dynamics and (often multilingual) uniqueness.

4

Social cohesion emerges from the balanced combination of mobility and inclusion. Mobility expands the range of opportunities available to citizens; inclusion nurtures people's sense of place and safeguards the specificity of different locales in Europe. Achieving this balance, and designing intelligent language policies for this purpose, is arguably one of the conditions that must be met in order to allow a regeneration of the project of European integration in times of globalisation and change.

These four conclusions rest on the **research findings** which the reader can discover in the 72 entries that follow. These findings are arranged in six thematic categories.

1

Language policy as a public policy, whose focus is on advancing knowledge on the principles that should guide the selection, design and evaluation of language policies in order to make them effective, cost-effective, and equitable, as they address the “multilingual challenge of the European citizen” (entries 1 to 13).

2

The politics of language, where we look in particular at how existing constitutional, legal and regulatory arrangements regarding the position of European languages can be improved to ensure better cohesion through a fine-tuned balance of rights and practices between different languages (entries 14 to 25).

3

The handling of **linguistic diversity as a social issue**, which is key to defining the position of people who speak different languages. The project sheds light on how contemporary changes affect people’s choices regarding language use, how language features mesh with the formation of group identity, and how this is reflected in the visible features of the space in which we live (entries 26 to 40).

4

The principles that should govern the **steering and language practices of education systems**, including at tertiary level, in order to address Europeans’ language needs and equip them with the tools needed for mobility, but also ensure that mobility isn’t disruptive and, in combination with measures reinforcing inclusion into local societies, improves the resulting cohesion of Europe (entries 41 to 53).

5

The **optimal use of mutually complementary strategies for communication** in multilingual settings, encompassing classic ones like translation and interpreting, but also machine translation, the use of different lingua francas, and the development of receptive skills in languages closely related to one’s first language (entries 54 to 64).

6

An exploration of the **frontiers of multilingualism** through a set of pilot studies on little-explored special topics. These topics include the (geopolitical) security implications of diversity, the linguistic requirements of consumer protection, the potential of the Roma’s historical experience with linguistic diversity for suggesting unexpected approaches to the challenges of multilingualism, the particular language needs of internationally mobile retirees, the connections between individual multilingualism and creativity, and the implications of linguistic diversity for responding to financial crises (entries 65 to 72).

Language policy analysis

- 1 Why can't language questions just be left to themselves?
- 2 Is a common language necessary to have a viable democracy?
- 3 Can the "free market" manage language diversity?
- 4 Why is a good typology helpful for language policy selection and design?
- 5 How should we identify and measure linguistic disadvantage?
- 6 What is a "complex approach" to language policy selection and design?
- 7 Why should demolinguistic projections inform language policy choices?
- 8 How does foreign language teaching influence the costs of migration?
- 9 Which socio-economic inequalities amongst speakers of different languages should be addressed by public policies?
- 10 In what languages should healthcare be provided?
- 11 Do costs matter in language policy?
- 12 Why are computer-based simulations useful in the selection and design of complex language policies?
- 13 What are the general legal implications of MIME research?

1 Why can't language questions just be left to themselves?

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Given the complexity of language issues, it is tempting for governments to say that language issues will take care of themselves, and to avoid making decisions about language. However, this isn't really an option, for the simple reason that states cannot function *without* language. When administering justice, levying taxes, or providing education, states use one or more language(s), but not others; by definition, they *are* making decisions about language. There is no such thing as “no language policy”, and even those unavoidable decisions must be based on a sound weighing of the pros and cons of competing options. However, two additional reasons often come into play. The first is that many states see it as their duty to protect small languages; the second is that when several languages cohabit in the same space, states frequently need to arbitrate between their conflicting claims to material and symbolic resources. For all these reasons, states need to engage in language policy.

What does research tell us?

In order to fully understand the need for states to engage in language policy, we must start by identifying two apparent paradoxes about linguistic diversity. The first is that diversity is simultaneously decreasing and increasing. It is *objectively* decreasing because small languages are eroding or even disappearing, as a result of the complex interplay of several social, political and economic processes, resulting in a degree of homogenisation. At the same time, diversity is increasing in the *subjective* experience of millions of people – in particular those who live in major cities experiencing substantial immigration.

The second paradox, which echoes the first, is that diversity can be seen as simultaneously threatened and threatening. As just noted, some languages are threatened with extinction or have already disappeared, and many states rightly see it as one of their duties to protect these languages. At the same time, the presence of different languages in the same space is not necessarily a peaceful reality. There may be competition over material and symbolic resources, and states are frequently called upon to arbitrate between different languages. Thus, whether for *protection and promotion* (because some components of diversity are *threatened*) or for *arbitration and demarcation* (because some components of diversity are perceived, rightly or wrongly, as *threatening* to others), states need to engage in language policy.

Illustration and evidence

Just about every case of language policy can be characterised as pertaining mainly to “protection and promotion” or to “arbitration”, though the two functions often blend into each other.

Mainly protection and promotion:

- ▶ provision of Irish language services under the Irish government's *Language Scheme*;¹
- ▶ recognition in Finland's Sámi Language Act of Sámi speakers' right to use Sámi with the authorities².

Mainly arbitration and demarcation:

- ▶ regulation of the use of French and Dutch in courts in the Brussels region³;
- ▶ provision of optional heritage language courses in Hamburg public schools⁴;
- ▶ establishment of Castilian as the official language of the Spanish state⁵;
- ▶ constitutional recognition of the stable linguistic boundaries of language regions in Switzerland⁶.

Both protection and arbitration:

- ▶ constitutional protection of Hungarian speakers' educational and cultural rights in Romania⁷;
- ▶ exemption of the Danish minority from the five-percent threshold for representation in the *Landtag* of the German Land of Schleswig-Holstein⁸.

Policy implications

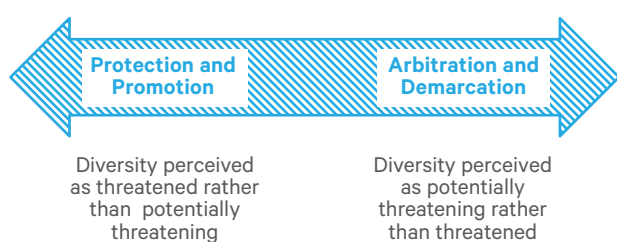
No country can possibly *not* have a language policy. This observation carries over to supra-national entities such as the European Union, and it carries over to any structure that has jurisdiction over people in certain areas, and must communicate internally or externally. The sometimes heard argument that language issues will take care of themselves simply never holds.

Once the need for a language policy is established, it must be selected, designed and evaluated according to sound principles developed in the general field of policy analysis and duly adapted to language policy. Chief among these principles are *efficiency* and *fairness*, which are addressed in other entries of this Vademecum.

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2. www.finlex.fi/en/laki/kaannokset/2003/en20031086.pdf
3. www.ejustice.just.fgov.be/eli/loi/1935/06/15/1935061501/justel
4. www.diver.uni-hamburg.de/-images/08122016-bericht-hube-ev.pdf
5. www.congreso.es/consti/constitucion/indice/titulos/articulos.jsp?ini=1&fin=9&tipo=2
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2 Is a common language necessary to have a viable democracy?

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Most experts on divided societies and institutional design broadly agree that it is more difficult to establish and maintain a stable, functioning democracy in a country with multiple languages and linguistically fragmented public spheres than in more homogeneous countries. The 19th-century British philosopher John Stuart Mill famously wrote that “among a people without fellow-feeling, especially if they read and speak different languages, the united public opinion, necessary to the working of representative government, cannot exist”. In recent years, scholars have reaffirmed this thesis. A contemporary political philosopher Philippe Van Parijs, for example, asserts that the emergence of a common demos, seen as a necessary condition for democracy, is made possible by the availability of a common language. He argues there can be “[n]o viable democracy without a linguistically unified demos” (Van Parijs, 2000, 236).

What does research tell us?

We must admit that deep language diversity is a challenge for democracy. But it is not insurmountable. A case in point is Switzerland. It is a multilingual country without a lingua franca, fragmented into 26 cantons of which all but four are officially monolingual. The country has four national languages (German, French, Italian and Romanche) and four linguistically distinct public spheres. And yet it is widely seen as one of the most stable and successful democracies in the contemporary world. Scholars tend to take for granted the success of the Swiss model of democracy. Indeed, generally speaking, they are much less interested in success stories and prefer to focus on difficult cases.

This said, it is one thing to have a functioning democracy with just two or three official languages. Achieving the same goal in the presence of many more languages is more problematic.

In particular, for the EU to become a viable democracy, it must address the issue of multilingualism, considering that it has 24 official languages and no official lingua franca.

Illustration and evidence

Deeply multilingual countries such as Canada and Belgium have been experiencing considerable difficulties in past decades (see the almost successful 1995 referendum on sovereignty in Quebec or the institutional deadlock and the rise of Flemish nationalism in Belgium since the 1970s). The argument could be extended further to countries such as the UK (with Scotland), Spain (with Catalonia and the Basque Country) or India, but in these societies there is at least *one* lingua franca – English, Spanish, Hindi – that *most* people speak or at least understand, which is not the case in Belgium and Canada. Scholars who have explored the case Switzerland, with regard to its management of ethno-linguistic diversity, have typically attributed its success to federalism and/or the supposed “consociational” nature of its institutions based on power sharing, group autonomy, proportional allocation of parliamentary seats and public jobs, and minority veto (Lijphart, 1977). While we agree that federalism is an important institution, it cannot per se explain the stability of Swiss democracy. Federal countries need appropriate institutions to balance the centrifugal tendencies. This balance is not offered, we claim, by *consociational* institutions but, rather, by *centripetal* institutions (see Horowitz 1985; Stojanović 2009).

By way of conclusion, we believe that societies that do not share a common lingua franca need other institutions – that is, not only federalism and consociationalism – in order to become and/or remain viable democracies. In particular, they need *centripetal institutions* based on majority rule. (Of course, they should be supplemented by a system of checks and balances, especially courts, allowing to avoid a “tyranny of the majority” and to protect minority rights.)

Policy implications

Among centripetal institutions and mechanisms we think of direct, popular election of the president and a frequent use of bottom-up direct-democratic instruments such as popular initiatives and referendums, and they can contribute to the harmonious management of linguistic diversity within member states and, by implication, in the European Union as a whole. Such institutions could foster the emergence of a unified demos and a party system based on multilingual instead of monolingual parties. The recent reforms in the EU introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009 – indirect elections of the president of the European Council and the introduction of European Citizens’ Initiatives – go precisely in that direction. But they are probably insufficient (the president is not directly elected by EU citizens; the successful European Citizens’ Initiatives are unbinding and trigger no popular vote) to foster a truly multilingual European party system and a centripetal democracy. Another promising idea, recently (April 2017) re-launched by the Italian government and endorsed by the French president Emmanuel Macron and the leader of the German Social Democrats Martin Schultz, consists in assigning the 73 British seats in the European Parliament, that will remain vacant after ‘Brexit’, to a single EU-wide electoral district. The hope is that this might provide sufficiently strong incentives for parties to present supra-national multilingual lists in the elections to the European Parliament or even to turn themselves into truly European, multilingual parties.

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3 Can the “free market” manage language diversity?

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In general, there are no good reasons to interfere with the spontaneous interactions between individuals when the results of those interactions affect only the individuals involved. This is especially the case when goods and services are traded on markets. However, for many goods and services, this is not the case. For some commodities like clean air or national defence, generally no markets exist. Even if markets exist, one individual's consumption or one firm's production of certain goods can influence the well-being of other people or the earnings of other firms. In such cases, uncoordinated individual decisions are rarely optimal for society, and some coordination is necessary. This discrepancy between the outcomes of individual behaviour and collective optimality justifies collective action.

What does research tell us?

In such cases, economists talk of “market failure”. Market failure comes in different forms, including side effects of market transactions, asymmetrical information, and missing or incomplete markets for certain goods. What many of these phenomena have in common is that the calculus of a person weighing benefits and costs individually neglects the effect her actions have on others. Consequently, the aggregated benefits to herself and all others of her actions are under-estimated (“positive externality”) or over-estimated (“negative externality”). In the first case, she fails to take some actions that generate, for society as whole, more benefits than costs; in the second case, she takes some actions whose costs exceed the resulting benefits to society. If the decision concerns the provision of goods or services, the result is under-provision in the first case, and over-provision in the second case. As a rule, then, individual behaviour does not result in a collective optimum.

Illustration and evidence

What we are discussing here is a specific type of (positive) “externality” occurring in the case of so-called collective – or public – goods. A collective good is a good that can be consumed or enjoyed by any individual without reducing any other individual's possibilities to consume the same good. Classical examples are television broadcasts, or the aesthetic pleasure derived from admiring a piece of art. Similarly, language-related collective goods include the availability of public documents or street signs in a minority language. One person's contribution to the provision of bilingual street signs would benefit everyone whom the signs would help, but the individual would only consider her own benefit when deciding on her contribution and consequently the size of her contribution would be smaller than the total benefit generated. If each person decides for herself, this would lead to low (if any) voluntary contributions. Acting collectively, on the other hand, people could readily agree on another, better, outcome. Since the necessary negotiations could be fairly costly, a policy maker might have to function as a coordinator.

Consider a simple example: Apollo (“A”) operates a Greek restaurant and Daphne (“D”) a night bar in the same Greek neighbourhood. To attract customers, they put up signs directing tourists to their neighbourhood. The more money spent on signs, the more people will be informed. By spending €5,000, they attract people from the inner city; with €10,000, people who live inside the middle city ring; with €15,000, everyone within the outer ring; and for €20,000, people from the whole city.

Both Apollo and Daphne may choose to contribute nothing, €5,000, or €10,000 each; in total, then, 0, 5,000, 10,000, 15,000, or 20,000 Euro would be available. They both attribute certain values to the signs. Daphne values signs in the centre at €4,000, within the middle Ring at €8,000, etc. and Apollo considers signs in the centre to be worth €3,000, within the middle ring €6,000, etc. The gross benefits (in thousands of Euros) accruing to each are given in the left-hand part of the figure above for different levels of their respective contributions.

The contributions must be subtracted from the gross benefits to get the net benefits, as shown in the right-hand part of the figure. If Apollo contributes €5,000, it is clear that Daphne reaches her highest net benefits (the equivalent of €4,000) by contributing nothing. This holds true for any contribution from Apollo. Apollo's behaviour is symmetric. No signs would be provided.

Coordinated action could make both better off, with each contributing €5,000 or €10,000, or Daphne contributing €10,000 and Apollo €5,000. The highest aggregated net value is reached if each contributes €10,000, resulting in signs everywhere.

Public documents are another example of language-related goods whose use generates mostly symbolic value. However, for many people, rules on symbolic aspects such as having the official name of the country or of important institutions in different languages are very important.

Policy implications

Because of externalities stemming from individual decisions regarding the provision of many language-related goods, language policy should not be left to spontaneously interacting individuals. Coordinated action is needed, and the public sector has an important role to play.

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**GROSS INDIVIDUAL BENEFITS (left) V.
NET INDIVIDUAL BENEFITS (right)**

D \ A	A		
	0	5	10
0	0	3	6
5	4	8	12
10	8	12	16

D \ A	A		
	0	5	10
0	0	-2	-4
5	3	1	-1
10	6	4	2

4 Why is a good typology helpful for language policy selection and design?

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As any other policy, language policies come in many different shapes depending on their context, their objectives, and their mode of operation. This raises the question of how we describe and categorise them. However, simple typologies are not always enough. When designing an integrated language policy plan, a more detailed classification can be useful, because it requires us to spell out many features of the policy that might otherwise have been overlooked. Instead of focusing on one dimension only, a truly helpful typology should combine several dimensions, and each policy measure should be described in terms of each of these dimensions.

What does research tell us?

There is no closed or *a priori* list of dimensions in language policy. Which dimensions matter, and how finely the sociolinguistic reality within each dimension is characterised, will depend on local conditions. However, eight dimensions (some classical, some novel) stand out as generally relevant, across specific situations, for the purposes of designing an integrated language policy plan:

1. Domain is a conventional categorisation of areas of human activity in which languages are used in specific ways. Domains can be singled out more or less finely. As a starting point, we can start with major domains including “education”, “judiciary”, “administration and public services”, “media”, “culture”, “economic activity”, and “social life”.
2. Sphere, which distinguishes between policies primarily aimed at the use of languages in the private, the public or the statal sphere.
3. Welfare effects, which differentiates between measures that focus mainly on the *efficient allocation of resources* or on the *fair distribution of resources*.
4. Target variables, which refers to the variables through which policy is intended to operate: most language policy measures focus on people’s *capacity* to use the language (i.e. their skills), the *opportunities* they have to use it (e.g. in how many domains can you do so?), and an indicator of people’s actual desire to use the minority language.
5. Economic nature of the objects of the policy. This economic nature can be broken down into sub-dimensions such as “goods” v. “services”, “benefits” v. “costs”, or “inputs” v. “outputs” v. ultimate “outcomes” of a policy measure). Economic nature is a broad notion that encompasses not just material or financial values, but symbolic values as well.
6. Instrument, which distinguishes between “command and control”, which characterises mandatory policies (e.g. when translations of court proceedings *must* be provided), and “incentives”, where actors are encouraged to use certain languages (e.g. if civil servants earn a wage rate premium if they become bilingual).
7. Type, which distinguishes between *corpus planning* and *status planning* (regulations on the position of different languages *vis-à-vis* each other, e.g. in terms of official recognition, use in the education system, on the labour market, etc.).
8. Intra-linguistic focus of the intervention (e.g. oral v. written use; choice of writing system, spelling reform, lexicographic or terminological development, etc.).

Illustration and evidence

Owing to the presence of a large and socioeconomically diverse foreign-born population, the city of Geneva is very multilingual, even if its sole official language is French. The city has a policy of making children at pre-school (which is subsidised by the city) aware of them. The policy is implemented through the *Éveil aux langues* (“Awakening to languages”) project, which includes posters, story-telling, singing and other activities that enable children to experience the languages represented in the classroom (Candelier, 2003).

As a language policy measure, the *Éveil aux langues* project can be characterised as follows:

1. Domain: (pre-school) education
2. Sphere: mainly statal (“language awakening” is provided in city-supported establishments)
3. Welfare effects: mainly distribution (recognition of the equal dignity of languages)
4. Target variable: mainly aimed at children’s attitudes towards linguistic diversity

EXAMPLES OF LANGUAGE AWARENESS STRATEGIES

IN GENEVA PRE-SCHOOLS. Source: ville-geneve.ch/themes/petite-enfance-jeunesse-loisirs/petite-enfance/veil-langues

Languages are made visible through the posting of multilingual welcome signs, the drafting of multilingual information leaflets for parents, and encouragement to children to share some words of their home language

Languages are heard through songs and nursery rhymes (which staff are encouraged to collect from parents)

Languages are sung: hearing and singing songs in a variety of languages, the children progressively learn to identify them

Languages are “told”, using bilingual story books that allow words from a variety of languages to be used

Languages are written, and children’s attention is drawn, whether in the classroom or during outings, to elements of written text in different languages, possibly using different alphabets

Languages circulate through lending, between the school and the parents, as well as among the children, of books and CDs in various languages.

1. Economic nature: supply of a non-market service
2. Instrument: mainly “command and control” (staff are strongly invited to use *Éveil aux langues*; children or their parents cannot opt out)
3. Type: language status
4. Intra-linguistic focus: mainly oral, subsidiarily written-receptive

Policy implications

Describing policy measures through a relatively extensive set of dimensions is useful for:

- ▶ identifying the implications of a proposed measure and avoiding inconsistencies within it;
- ▶ ensuring consistency between different measures and thus the coherence of the language policy as a whole;
- ▶ correctly identifying manifestations of complexity that need to be taken into account;
- ▶ facilitating the identification of previous comparable measures for more pertinent monitoring of the effects of the new policy;
- ▶ recognising the role of different actors, in the administration and civil society, and facilitating their involvement in policy design and implementation.

An interdisciplinary team should be set up in order to characterise each policy measure in the broader policy plan as fully as possible.

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5 How should we identify and measure linguistic disadvantage?

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An important challenge for public policies aiming to promote mobility and inclusion is to find ways to address social disadvantages that are due to people's language skills. Sometimes it is easy to recognise when people are disadvantaged for linguistic reasons, as when immigrants without fluency in the dominant language cannot participate in public life. However, because some linguistic disadvantages are not immediately apparent, addressing them will require broad social agreement about how to identify and measure them.

What does research tell us?

Theoretical work carried out within the MIME project suggests that there are different ways to identify and measure linguistic disadvantages (Carey, forthcoming; Shorten, 2017). An intuitive approach is to examine the number of people someone can effectively communicate with. We call this the communicative opportunities model, and it can be a useful proxy for policymakers, since social disadvantage and potential communicative opportunities are often negatively correlated. However, this model can also be misleading, since someone might be content with their situation despite being able to communicate with relatively few people. To solve this problem we might instead employ a preference satisfaction model, which says that someone is linguistically disadvantaged if they are unable to do what they want to do for linguistic reasons, as when someone is unable to secure satisfactory work in their preferred field of employment because they lack foreign language skills. However, this approach too might be misleading, since it says that people who are satisfied with limited options are not disadvantaged.

In turn, this problem can be solved by instead comparing people according to their ability to access a socially accepted list of resources or outcomes. For example, according to the resource access model, having limited employment options for linguistic reasons is a form of linguistic disadvantage, regardless of one's preferences or communicative opportunities, since one is disadvantaged with respect to securing a generally valued resource – income. Meanwhile, the capabilities approach model proceeds in a similar way, but instead of asking what a person has or is able to get, it asks what they are able to be and do. Accordingly, its list consists of outcomes like being in good health or having control over one's environment, and it says that linguistic disadvantage arises because a person, for linguistic reasons, lacks the effective freedom to achieve these things.

Illustration and evidence

The table summarises some attractions and shortcomings of each model. The differences amongst them can be illustrated by considering an immigrant who cannot speak the locally dominant language, but who nevertheless is satisfied with her life and work. Whilst the first two models diverge as to whether she is linguistically disadvantaged, the final two will reach different conclusions depending upon which resources and outcomes are used to compare people. For example, if resources such as political voice, or outcomes such as being able to participate in public life, are included, then we might conclude that she is disadvantaged, despite her lack of dissatisfaction.

Policy implications

Different models might be suitable for different purposes. For example, the communicative opportunities model uses easily accessible information, and thus might be suitable for deciding where to target majority language learning programmes. By contrast, the capabilities approach requires more information, but it might supply a richer understanding of the needs of vulnerable groups, such as elderly immigrants who cannot speak the local language. Meanwhile, an attraction of the preference satisfaction model is that it might discourage the application of policies whose goals are not widely supported, but it will only be able to do so if policymakers have access to reliable and comprehensive information about people's actual preferences. Finally, the resource allocation and capabilities approach models are the most useful when it comes to assessing the overall fairness of a society's linguistic arrangements.

Although it may prove difficult to get broad social agreement about which resources or outcomes should be included, and how to rank them, it might nevertheless be possible to establish a social minimum by getting consensus about some of them.

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Model	Definition	Advantages	Disadvantages
Communicative Opportunities	A enjoys a linguistic advantage relative to B when A is able to communicate with more people.	Intuitive and hence broadly accepted. Straightforward to apply.	Sometimes counterintuitive.
Preference Satisfaction	A enjoys a linguistic advantage relative to B when A's preferences are satisfied, for linguistic reasons, to a greater extent.	Intuitive and hence broadly accepted. Powerful moral justification.	Sometimes counterintuitive. Difficult to apply.
Resource Access	A enjoys a linguistic advantage relative to B when A's language repertoire provides her with better access to significant resources.	People are compared according to identical, morally significant and publicly available criteria.	Social disagreement about the relative significance of resources. May be difficult to apply.
Capabilities Approach	A enjoys a linguistic advantage relative to B when A's language repertoire makes it easier to exercise valuable human functionings.	People are compared according to identical, morally significant, publicly available and widely accepted criteria.	Social disagreement about the relative significance of functionings. May be difficult to apply.

6 What is a “complex approach” to language policy selection and design?

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Adopting a complex approach means expanding the traditional approach to the link between policy decisions “upstream” and their outcome “downstream”. While the former are designed to affect the latter (policies always pursue certain goals), the link between them is usually more complex than classical theories assume. At the same time, terrain realities can differ widely. For both reasons, there is no such thing as a *one-size-fits-all* policy, and complex approaches are a response to this challenge. This applies to all sorts of policies. As a matter of fact, the “Impact Assessment Guidelines” published by the European Commission in 2009 are already rather explicit in saying that policy implementation and assessment should always take environmental, economic and social impacts into consideration, as well as any external factor that may have favourable or adverse effects on the policy. Nevertheless, although complexity is often acknowledged by policymakers, it is seldom given a formal definition, let alone an analytical framework.

What does research tell us?

Research in complexity theory shows that language issues meet a number of specific criteria and therefore qualify as complex issues. Among other things, language issues have non-linear dynamics (e.g. processes like language acquisition, language decline and maintenance may accelerate or slow down, and sometimes go into reverse), are characterised by feedback loops (think of language use feeding on itself) and display different characteristics at different levels of aggregation (e.g. the communication needs of an individual and those of a corporation are not the same).

Defining a complex plan of intervention means, among other things, recognising that language issues always raise questions connected to other domains such as the education system, legal provisions, demographic change, and the evolution of the labour market. Language policies always have spill-over effects outside the linguistic sphere. Complexity theory tells us that a well-targeted and effective policy must acknowledge the complex networks that tie linguistic issues to non-linguistic causes and consequences.

Illustration and evidence

Language policies sometimes fail to meet their objective(s) because of their lack of complexity; complex integrated policies usually fare better. For example, the post-independence Irish language policy is generally regarded as having had disappointing results in that it was overly focused on the school context and mostly overlooked non-education variables (such as attitudes towards the Irish language). Conversely, the promotion of Euskera in the Basque Country has proved more successful because the language policy plan included not just school-related measures but also adult classes, the creation of *ad hoc* institutions and awareness campaigns.

Policy implications

The general principle is that we must develop policies that are “as complex as the issues they address”. This translates into a few practical guidelines for policies involving language.

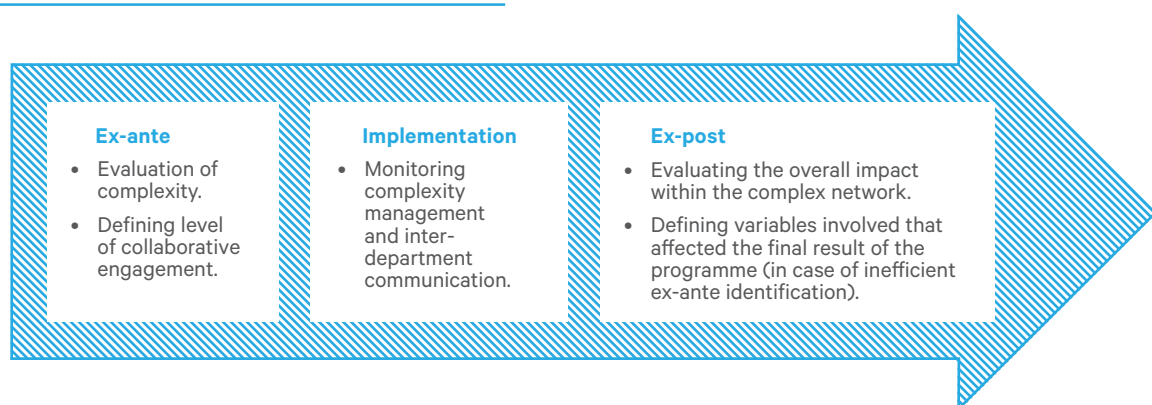
During the selection and design phase:

- ▶ language issues are never “only” language issues. Before drafting an intervention strategy, an interdisciplinary group must be set up in order to assess the extent to which the issue at stake ranges over different fields, evaluate the required level of collaboration and identify a set of complex indicators required for monitoring and evaluation.
- ▶ the policy plan must not draw on language disciplines only. The team in charge of its development must be interdisciplinary, with experts working on the language issue from different angles.

During and after the implementation phase:

- ▶ the policy should be monitored to verify that the program is properly implemented and to check that there is adequate circulation of information across different departments, in order to ensure constant fine-tuning. Complexity research shows that change does not happen in a regular way. Long periods with no change can alternate with sudden, dramatic changes (at the so-called “tipping points”).
- ▶ an ex-post evaluation must be part of the overall design. It should assess the direct impacts of the policy as well as its effects on non-language variables, so as to identify unexpected or unintended effects (or a lack of effects) more systematically.

The process is summed up in the diagram below.



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7 Why should demolinguistic projections inform language policy choices?

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In large parts of European academic and public discourse, it is apparently taken for granted that one lingua franca must dominate and that it will be English. Apart from the problematic features of any form of linguistic hegemony (no matter which language dominates), changing geopolitical power constellations do not necessarily favour this scenario – including the further expansion of global English. The hegemonic position of the English language proceeds from the expanding influence of English-speaking countries in the 20th century (Phillipson, 2009). In the 21st century, however, this political and economic dominance is expected to decrease, and it is not obvious that the role of English will remain unchanged.

What does research tell us?

The 20th century has favoured the political and commercial expansion of English-speaking countries. Commentators have argued that the position of English will be challenged due to the fact that the global domination of the US has passed its peak in the beginning of the 21st century (Maurais and Morris, 2003; Ostler, 2006). Ostler (2010) also suggests that the development of language technologies, in particular automatic translation, will erode the relevance of a global lingua franca. This will open up the possibility for other languages of wider communication to gain global lingua franca status or at least to maintain their position as an important factor in lingua franca communication on a regional level, including the territory of the European Union (EU).

The progressive shift in the balance of geopolitical power is likely to result in an increase in the influence on world affairs of certain states or consortia of states.

The EU's democratic weight is declining, but it remains a first-rate economic player. Other groups of states, such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation or the Eurasian Union, are likely to acquire more influence. The growing influence of these organisations in world affairs also implies that their languages and their concepts of language policy will probably gain importance in the long run.

Illustration and evidence

A number of languages of wider communication already compete with global English for the status of (regional) lingua franca. In former parts of the Soviet Union, Russian is still being used as a regional lingua franca. A country like Kazakhstan within the former Soviet and current Russian orbit has adopted an official trilingual language policy promoting equally prominent status for Kazakh, English and Russian. The two official languages of the Shanghai Military Cooperation covering the territory of the eastern part of the Eurasian continent are Russian and Mandarin Chinese. With almost 900 million, Mandarin Chinese has the most mother tongue speakers by far (roughly three times as much as English at present). French remains the main lingua franca across most former French colonial states on the African continent, with demographic projections placing the number of speakers of French between 370 and 770 million by 2060; and Spanish as a lingua franca plays a vital communicative role across the American continent, including, as a result of migration and demolinguistic evolution, in the United States. Some other important languages of wider communication, like Hindi, Malay and Portuguese might also be added to the list of regional competitors of global English.

Language	Total speakers (m)	Mother tongue speakers (m)	Lingua franca speakers (m)
1 English	1143	331	812
2 Mandarin Chinese	1051	873	178
3 Spanish	389	329	60
4 Arabic	346	206	140
5 Hindi	302	182	120
6 Russian	254	144	110
7 Bengali	250	181	69
8 Malay/Ind	202	55	147
9 Portuguese	193	178	15
10 Urdu	154	61	93
11 Japanese	126	125	1
12 French	118	68	50
13 German	118	90	28
14 Persian	109	36	73
15 Javanese	85	85	0

Policy implications

In sum, the global geopolitical developments should lead us to anticipate the use of several different regional or global lingua francas, including English, but also a number of other languages, including Mandarin Chinese, Spanish, Arabic, Hindi, Russian, Bengali, Malay, Portuguese, Urdu, Japanese, French, German, Persian, and Javanese. In the table above, these languages are arranged by total number of speakers, it being clear that the numbers of “lingua franca speakers”, and hence of “total speakers”, are very rough estimates.

Apart from the numbers of the different categories of speakers, the geographical distribution and concentration of competing languages also matter, as do their prestige and status. The complex interplay of political, economic and demographic factors that shape language dynamics suggests that a wide range of languages should be taken into account in a forward-looking language policy for Europe.

*Ranking of languages by total number of speakers
(adapted from Ostler, 2017: 227)*

EU member states could make more space for the languages referred to above in school curricula, taking care in particular not to narrow down their language education policy to the teaching of a mother tongue plus English only. This more open orientation ties in with the recommendation made in COM (2008 / 566: 7) that the teaching of languages of wider communication is relevant to boost competitiveness and to improve opportunities in global business spheres.

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8 How does foreign language teaching influence the costs of migration?

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Economics suggests that the mobility of capital and labour contributes to a better allocation of resources and therefore to economic efficiency. The mobility of workforce, in particular, helps reduce gaps in structural unemployment rates across regions. Nevertheless, in linguistically diverse contexts such as the EU, lack of adequate knowledge of foreign languages can hamper workforce mobility. Learning a new language is costly and this can influence mobility choices. Language policy can help individuals reduce such costs, and at the same time promote inclusion.

What does research tell us?

Economic theory usually models a person's choice to migrate as the result of a comparison between benefits and costs. Those benefits and costs are not necessarily financial, and can include non-financial aspects, such as proximity with family members or friends or a safer environment for children, but for the purposes of the present discussion, let us focus on the financial side of the comparison (we do not discuss here the extreme cases of refugees and asylum seekers, nor the case of mobility for a short period). People have an incentive to move to another country if the *difference* between the expected income net of tax and welfare benefits (and adjusted for differences in the cost of living) in the destination country and in the home country is higher than the sum of various costs associated with migration. Benefits can include free health insurance or children education. These costs may include explicit travel or admission costs determined by the migration policy of the destination country, as well as implicit costs such as the distance from relatives and friends, a preference for home, psychological costs, and the costs of language learning.

Illustration and evidence

Empirical evidence collected in different OECD countries shows that language skills are a statistically significant determinant of migration patterns, and that the language background of migrants matters as to the choice of the destination country (Chiswick and Miller, 2015). In general, knowledge of the official language of the host country (either as a first language or as a second language) is an important factor explaining the mix and the scale of migration flows. In Europe, for example, speaking the main language of a country increases almost fivefold the likelihood of migrating to that country.

Language policy can influence language-related costs. Language policy in the *home* country can increase the exposure to the official language (or one of the official languages) of the destination country. Foreign language teaching in the education system entails a reduction in the average cost of migration to countries where such languages are official or widely spoken, no matter whether citizens are actually interested in migrating or not in their adult life. Language policy in the *destination* country affects migration costs in two different ways. It can improve post-migration exposure to the language by providing accessible language and integration courses to migrants. In addition, it can allow certain exceptions in the use of the local official language in some administrative forms, in certain public services and in certain sectors of the labour market. For example, public authorities can use translation and interpreting services to provide administrative forms at the tax office in different languages, and hire interpreters' services in hospitals. Public authorities may accept that certain

groups of migrants (e.g. the highly skilled) have the right to work in a language that is not the official language of the host country for a certain period. For example, foreign professors may be appointed conditional upon the development of adequate linguistic skills in the local language within a certain period.

Not all language policies are equal or bring about the same outcomes in terms of mobility and inclusion. In the vast majority of EU countries, for example, English is the first foreign language taught in schools. This makes it cheaper for EU citizens to move to European countries where proficiency in English is widespread, in particular to Ireland and the UK. This can bring about unexpected biases in the flows of foreign workers within the European labour market. Countries whose official language is not widely taught abroad often encourage the domestic use of English as a second language for certain job positions, for example in higher education and in large companies. Nevertheless, this choice can entail other problems in terms of inclusion of foreigners at the local level, because it reduces the incentive for them to learn the dominant language of the destination country/region.

Policy implications

New measures are necessary at the European and national levels in order to reduce the tension between mobility and inclusion. Learning a language before moving abroad and/or immediately after arrival in the host country should become more accessible and cheaper. The costs may be shared among member states, for example through an increased use of EU structural funds. The provision, by the public service, of forms in more languages and the use of multilingual repertoires in the workplace can also be supported.

Diversifying the variety of languages taught in the education system, instead of focusing on one language only, would further enhance mobility. Empirical research shows that it is not just proficiency in the dominant language of the destination country that matters, but also the linguistic distance between this language and the languages already known by migrants. The development of linguistic repertoires that include languages belonging to different language families (e.g. Germanic, Romance and Slavic) instead of languages that belong to the same family could support mobility and inclusion.

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9 Which socio-economic inequalities amongst speakers of different languages should be addressed by public policies?

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Inclusion and mobility can be undermined by social and economic inequalities that arise because people have different language skills. For example, if employers reward familiarity with locally dominant languages or global languages like English, then highly proficient speakers of these will frequently have better employment and promotion prospects. However, since not every inequality that is due to language amounts to a social injustice, we require principles of social justice to explain which inequalities matter, why these matter, and which matter most.

What does research tell us?

Empirical researchers have identified many inequalities that are due to language. For example, competence in particular languages may attract a salary premium, native speakers may have better promotion prospects if they come across as less hesitant or more personable in the workplace, and speaking a widely used language may open the door to advantage-conferring institutions like universities and career networks (for a summary, see Shorten, 2017). Furthermore, language skills may also influence one's ability to navigate complex social, commercial and public institutions, to form relationships, to access medical care, or to effectively exercise one's civil and political rights (De Schutter & Ypi, 2012).

Although inequality as such is sometimes thought to be objectionable, many people believe that at least some of the inequalities which are due to language are morally unproblematic, such as the career advantages someone derives from having chosen to invest in language learning, or the limited opportunities to engage in public life experienced by a worker temporarily based in an other country.

At the same time, nearly everyone also agrees that at least some inequalities with a linguistic dimension ought to be addressed as a matter of public policy. Consequently, we require principled reasons to help us to understand which inequalities require corrective action, and research by political philosophers can help us to formulate these.

One principle we might employ for this purpose is the sufficiency principle, which insists that public policies ought to ensure that as few people as possible fall beneath a particular threshold (Frankfurt, 1987). This social minimum might be defined by reference to a person's welfare, their income, the extent to which their human rights are fulfilled, or something else. However it is specified, what matters is ensuring that everyone has 'enough' of the things that we care about. Another potential principle is the priority principle, which recommends that public policies prioritise satisfying the needs of the least advantaged (Parfit, 1998). This principle does not rely upon the idea of a social minimum, but instead says that benefitting people matters more, morally speaking, the worse-off these people are. Consequently, it suggests that modest improvements to the situation of a small number of disadvantaged people are of greater moral significance than large improvements to the situation of a large number of advantaged people.

Illustration and evidence

With respect to linguistic inequalities, the sufficiency principle directs us to tackle inequalities which are likely to have the effect of leaving some people beneath the threshold.

This might mean, for example, providing translation services so that immigrants can access public services, or language training programmes to secure the opportunity to access meaningful work. To implement it, citizens will need to decide on a threshold for their society. They might prefer a purely economic definition, for instance by aiming to ensure that no one is unable, for linguistic reasons, to secure an adequate income. Achieving this would require providing language learning programmes for immigrants, amongst other things. Or they might prefer a more expansive definition, for instance by aiming to ensure that everyone has an effective opportunity to exercise their thought and imagination in a language they are familiar with. Achieving this would likely require minority language cultural products to be subsidised, as well as the provision of employment opportunities for speakers of minority languages.

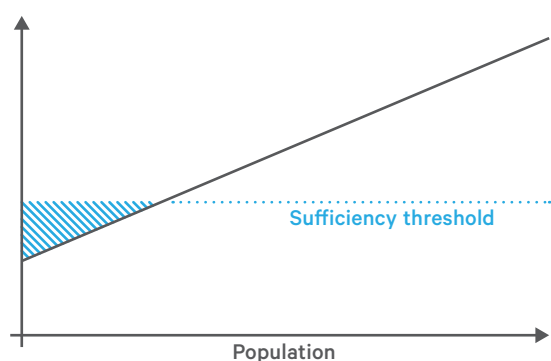
Meanwhile, the priority principle demands that we focus on improving the circumstances of those who are currently badly off, putting their needs ahead of other – more advantaged – groups. This might mean, for example, providing language training programmes for recent immigrants with poor employment prospects due to language. Perhaps controversially, this view insists that, as a matter of principle, we refrain from implementing policies for the benefit of better off groups, such as speakers of some autochthonous languages, if we could instead improve the circumstances of the less advantaged.

Policy implications

Each principle might be relevant in different policy scenarios. For example, the sufficiency principle might be especially relevant when deciding what kinds of translation services to provide and to whom. Meanwhile, the priority principle might be more suited to helping us to allocate scarce resources amongst different groups making competing claims, such as migrants and minority language speakers. Crucially, both principles will often converge on similar recommendations in practice, since ensuring that as many people as possible are above the sufficiency threshold will often require prioritising the needs of the most disadvantaged.

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10 In what languages should healthcare be provided?

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People unfamiliar with a locally dominant language may struggle to access healthcare if it is difficult for them to identify and communicate with the relevant medical services. Meanwhile, speakers of minority languages may find it difficult to identify and make use of relevant medical services in their preferred language. When is someone entitled, as a matter of justice, to the public provision of healthcare services in a particular language?

What does research tell us?

The quality of a person's health can be undermined if they have difficulty accessing healthcare in a language they understand. For example, in emergency care the absence of professional interpreters has been shown to have a significant impact on patients' own understanding of their condition (Baker et al., 1996). Further, even for people familiar with a dominant language, communication with medical professionals is difficult if they cannot understand medical terms (Schyve, 2007), and as a consequence people may be more likely to suffer poor health outcomes if they lack confidence in the dominant language. For example, an Australian study found that postnatal depression was more common amongst Chinese-speaking mothers than in the general population for this reason, despite the condition being virtually unknown in China (Chu, 2005), and communication difficulties could be part of the explanation. A variety of language policies may therefore be required if everyone's health needs are to be satisfied, such as the provision of translation and interpretation services, minority-sensitive social and healthcare services, and language learning supports.

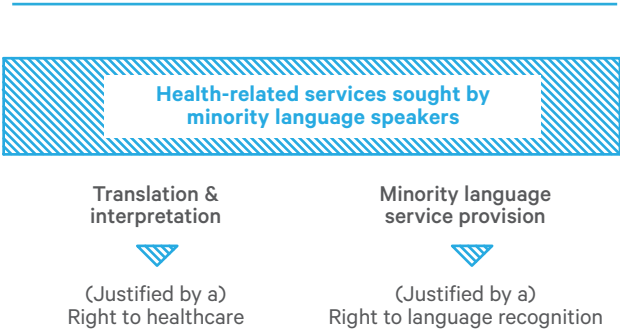
In addition to being able to access adequate healthcare, it is also important for many people that they be able to access medical services in their preferred language, even if they are competent speakers of a dominant language. For example, consider a resident of the Kerry Gaeltacht, an Irish-speaking area in the southwest of Ireland, who finds that she must use English to communicate with her local doctor. Her interests are set back by being unable to access an important public service in her preferred language, in a region where the state is committed to promoting it.

It may seem as if this latter interest is less morally significant than the one previously discussed, since it is less harmful to be denied access to healthcare in a preferred language than it is to lack access to healthcare altogether. However, when deciding how to allocate scarce public resources, the two interests do not necessarily need to be balanced against one another. Instead, a better approach is to try to reach an agreement about which norms and principles are appropriate for each kind of interest.

Illustration and evidence

On the one hand, each person has a morally significant interest in their own health, and this interest is of sufficient weight to justify a right to health. Since people's enjoyment of this right will be compromised if they are unable to access healthcare in a language they understand, there are powerful reasons of justice to accommodate speakers of minority languages by providing them with translation and interpretation services. On the other hand, the provision of translation and interpretation services falls short of what some speakers of minority languages demand, namely the unmediated provision of healthcare services in their own language.

If it is not feasible to deliver healthcare in each of the languages spoken in a society, then its citizens must decide which languages to use for this purpose. Such decisions ought to respect the speakers of different languages as equals, and should not deny minority language speakers the opportunity to access healthcare services in their own language simply on the grounds of economic cost. One way to treat speakers of different languages as equals is to offer the same per capita level of accommodation for the different languages spoken in society (Grin & Vaillancourt, 2015), for instance by providing minority language healthcare services on a where-the-numbers-warrant basis (Patten, 2014). This might be done either on a regional basis, for instance if a minority is geographically concentrated, or on a generic basis, so that speakers can access healthcare in their own language wherever they live in the country.



Policy implications

There are no principled reasons as to why both interests described above cannot simultaneously be satisfied. However, where resources are scarce, citizens will need to decide which interests to prioritise. As less powerful groups are easily neglected in the policy-making process, it is important to remember that vulnerable migrant populations often have complex language-related health needs. At the same time, it is also important to remember that linguistic minorities have a legitimate claim to a fair share of public healthcare resources, which may include the provision of healthcare services in their preferred language. Consequently, policymakers should communicate their reasons for deciding on particular priorities clearly, so that members of the public have the opportunity to understand and challenge the state’s decisions.

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11 Do costs matter in language policy?

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To sensibly discuss language policy, one has to analyse specific planning measures bunched together into different categories. Different structures of the costs of language policy measures require different decision rules for different categories. We focus here on *implementation costs*, leaving aside the decision-making costs (which can be considerable) leading up to the measure. Since the individuals benefiting are spread over a certain area, the costs can vary both with the number of beneficiaries and with the size of the area.

In a democratic setting, public policies are assessed in terms of advantages and drawbacks. Language policy can be seen as a public policy aiming at the accommodation of the linguistic preferences of all individuals in society, balancing perceived benefits with associated costs. Economists approach the narrow problem of comparing aggregated benefits and costs with the concept of “efficiency”, which feeds into a method known as “cost-benefit analysis”. At the same time, policies should treat individuals equitably. This second, but no less important, criterion often entails higher costs, and a compromise must be found. Economists approach this question with different concepts of “justice”. Costs play a key role in both aspects.

What does research tell us?

Different language policy measures lead to different cost structures. The costs can vary more or less with the number of beneficiaries as well as with the size of the territory in question. For the sake of clarity, we discuss four archetypal cases, shown in the table on the opposite page, although all intermediate stages are possible.

Illustration and evidence

Case I → This is typically the case of adopting an official language, as it is practiced in the EU. This includes the production of official documents and some mostly symbolic (but often very important) uses like having the abbreviation of the European Central Bank in different languages on banknotes. Here, all costs are fixed costs.

Implication → Since the costs are constant and aggregated benefits depend on the number of beneficiaries, the rational decision criterion should be based only on the number of beneficiaries, which is related to the number of speakers of a language. From the point of view of efficiency and justice, it is, hence, difficult to justify not giving Catalan or Russian an official status in the EU, when languages with much fewer speakers, like Latvian or Maltese, are official ones.

Case II → A good example is having street signs in several languages. The costs do not depend on how many people read the signs, but the number of signs – and, hence, the costs – increase with the size of the territory in question. The benefits can be assumed to be proportional to the number of beneficiaries.

Implication → Here the rational decision criterion requires a certain number of beneficiaries per area. Decision criteria based on efficiency and justice then imply that the spatial density of a language group should govern language rights in this category. One implication is that minority rights of this kind should not be reduced if the minority makes up a declining fraction of the population due to migration of the majority population into the area. Recent policies in some central European countries clearly contradict this finding.

Case III → Call centres in different languages, informing citizens about issues related to their tax obligations, illustrate this case. The costs are independent of the size of the area, but proportional to the number of people wanting information in a given language. (Savings in the majority language call centre have to be subtracted due to calls being moved to the parallel one.)

Implication → Again, since costs are independent of the size of the area of implementation, we need a sufficient number of individuals in order to justify the set-up costs. The decision rule should depend only on the number of beneficiaries.

Case IV → An approximate example of the fourth case is the provision of social services at home for elderly people in their mother tongue. The costs depend both on the size of the territory and on the number of beneficiaries. Again, savings in the parallel system in the majority language have to be taken into account.

Implication → Following the same argument as in case II, a sensible decision rule should rely on the density of the minority population.

A CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGE POLICY MEASURES ACCORDING TO THE PROPERTIES OF THE RESULTING GOOD OR SERVICE

The costs of the realisation of a measure...	do not depend on the size of the territory	increase proportionally with the size of the territory
do not depend on the number of individuals	Case I	Case II
increase proportionally with the number of individuals	Case III	Case IV

Policy implications

The cases discussed here are archetypal cases. There are many intermediate ones, where the decision rule could be some combination of rules relying on the total number of individuals in a linguistic group and on how densely they live in the territory in question. The general conclusion is, that due to cost structures, there can be no one-and-only type of decision rule and, hence, no uniform type of language policy. One cannot reason in terms of one dimension only, such as “official” v. “not official”. Instead, a differentiated policy is necessary. Some language rights should be put in one category and others in another one. For each category a different decision criterion is called for. A sensible language policy is necessarily a multi-faceted one.

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12 Why are computer-based simulations useful in the selection and design of complex language policies?

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As it is often impractical, if not impossible, to collect data on several thousand observations, let alone run (and re-run) large-scale social experiments to obtain first-hand data, agent-based models (ABMs) are particularly handy when it comes to developing top-down policies whose effects are inevitably determined by bottom-up processes. Language policy can benefit from the use of ABMs in that they can easily simulate complex processes such as the dynamics of language decline and survival, or patterns of communication resulting from individual language choices. Besides, ABMs can effectively replicate complex adaptive systems, in that agents' choices can be modelled so that they adapt their behaviour based on information acquired over time.

What does research tell us?

ABM is one of the main analytical tools of complexity theory and fits into the general philosophy of modelling in the social sciences: models are not intended to resemble reality; rather, by resorting to stylised facts, they are tools intended to help us think about complex processes. Computer-based simulation helps, among other things, to estimate the impact of different policy measures. ABMs can also include different classes of variables: those that can be influenced through policy, and contextual variables that are not (or only partially) affected by it. Therefore, ABMs can also help policymakers simulate the outcome of different policy measures under very different conditions, whether natural, social, political, economic, etc.

ABMs have proved successful in explaining and predicting several phenomena in the natural sciences (e.g. the spread of tumours within the organism), the social sciences (e.g. the dynamics of segregation) and the humanities (e.g. changes in vocabulary and speaking patterns).

Besides, ABMs can generate very intuitive visualisations of the dynamics at play that do not require understanding the technicalities of the code behind it.

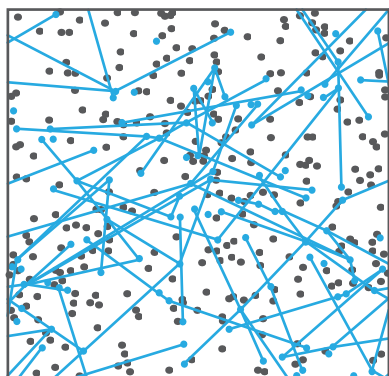
Illustration and evidence

Let us consider policy measures proposed in the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*.

The model simulates communication within a population where a majority language Y and a minority language X are spoken. Individuals meet and communicate with other individuals from either the majority (fluent in the majority language Y only) or the minority population (fluent in the majority language Y and having varying skills in the minority language X). When they meet, they determine whether the communication language is Y or X. This stylised chain of meetings captures the real-world problem of the opportunities a speaker of X has to use the minority language and improve her skills in it, given the context in which she lives. Consider now a policy aimed at ensuring that minority children aged 6 through 15 receive education in X, thus improving their skills in it. Simulations show that before the implementation of the policy, minority language X ends up disappearing in most instances, almost regardless of the initial proportion of minority speakers. Average skills in X also decrease rapidly. If, however, the policy is implemented, the absolute number of individuals able to speak X tends to remain constant over time. Particularly interesting is the implication that in many cases, it is not too late to redress the situation by implementing the policy at a later stage.

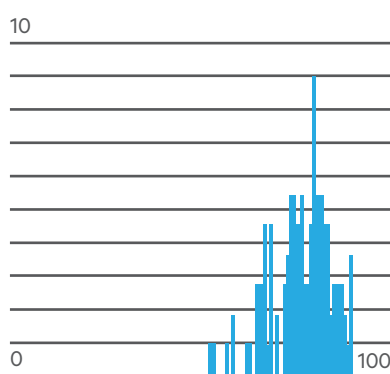
ANIMATION OF THE SIMULATION

(minority speakers in blue, majority speakers in grey)



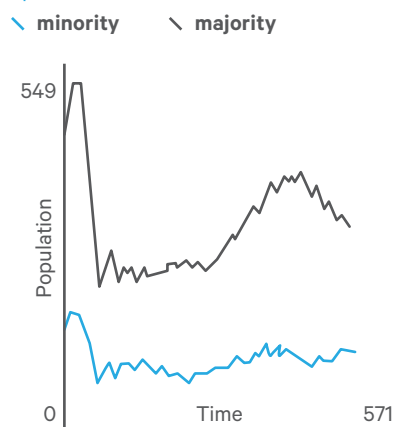
DISTRIBUTION OF MINORITY

LANGUAGE SPEAKERS (y-axis) by level of fluency on a scale from 0 to 100 (x-axis) after 500 iterations



TRENDS OF ABSOLUTE NUMBER OF

SPEAKERS. Proportion of minority speakers after 500 iterations = 0.12



Results are shown in figures above. Clearly, the model can be further refined to include other contextual variables, such as the perception that minority speakers have of their own language in terms of status or the ability of majority language speakers to express themselves in the minority language. Besides, the code can be rewritten so that it automatically implements the policy when the proportion of minority speakers falls below a certain threshold. Nevertheless, it is generally advisable to avoid adding too many complications to the model, since this may end up hiding the variables of interest.

Policy implications

For policy-making purposes, ABMs can be used to simulate:

1. existing phenomena in order to infer their characteristics (e.g. how different communication strategies develop within different communities);
2. the potential impact of different interventions, by adjusting the variables included in the model (for example, how exogenously changing the levels of language skills affects the number of speakers over time);

1. changes within a given social system as a response to external shocks (e.g. waves of immigration).

For the specific purposes of language policy and planning, computer-based simulations can help predict language needs and design the provision of language services accordingly. They yield long-term projections and facilitate comparisons between different scenarios where different measures are (or are not) implemented. These applications can help policymakers as well as legislators who need to make informed choices. The use of ABMs requires a good *a priori* knowledge of the issues that policymakers wish to address, but not of coding.

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13 What are the general legal implications of MIME research?

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Many of the policy orientations in this Vademecum could be implemented by changes in policy at the sub-national, national or EU level, and do not necessarily require changes in the formal legal regime of the European Union. Others, however, may be best accomplished by such changes.

What does research tell us?

One important theme emerging from MIME research is the fundamental importance of multilingual competence in promoting both mobility and inclusion. Inadequate foreign language teaching can hamper workforce mobility, and is also a barrier to inclusion where EU citizens have moved to another EU member state. Some MIME research also illustrates the importance of multilingualism in promoting a European identity and in fostering a shared democratic political space.

Another major theme is the extent to which lack of language skills in the official language or languages of the host state represents a barrier to EU (and other) migrants in gaining access to public services, and in particular to public services such as health care, emergency services, and certain key social services. In addition to discouraging mobility, the inability to access services of a similar quality to those available to citizens having the requisite language skills raises significant equality issues, and also represents a barrier to full social inclusion.

Illustration and evidence

Article 3, paragraph 3 of the *Treaty on European Union* ('TEU') provides that the EU 'shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is safe guarded and enhanced'.

Article 22 of the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union* (the 'Charter of Rights') provides that the EU shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity.

Education is central to the enhancement of multilingual competence and metalinguistic awareness. Paragraph 1 of Article 165 of the *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union* ('TFEU') provides that the EU shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity. Paragraph 2 then provides that EU action in relation to education shall be aimed at developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of Member States. The EU's linguistic diversity is much greater than the 24 official languages of EU Member States, and MIME's research has demonstrated that such diversity has significant implications for both mobility and inclusion, and requires policy responses.

The importance of language education has already been recognised in EU law, most notably in Council Directive 77/486/EEC, which observed that language education of children of EU migrants was of importance in promoting the mobility of persons within the EU. For this reason, it provided that Member States must take appropriate measures to ensure the teaching of the official language or one of the official languages of the host state, as well as the teaching of the child's mother tongue and the culture of the state of origin.

This Directive – which has itself suffered from generally poor implementation – could be updated and expanded.

Limited linguistic competence among EU and other migrants in the language of the host state creates barriers to the enjoyment of certain public services. EU law has responded in only a very limited way to this. In relation to health care, Directive 2011/24/EU, on the application of patients' rights in cross-border health care, provides that EU member states may choose to deliver information (but not services) in other official EU languages than the official language of the state. However, translation and interpretation have to be provided in asylum procedures (Directive 2013/32/EU) and in criminal proceedings (Directive 2010/64/EU).

Policy implications

In each of the four areas just reviewed, amendments to existing legal texts may be considered.

Amending Article 3, paragraph 3 of the TEU to make reference to valuing and enhancing the multilingual competence of all EU citizens is one legal change that deserves consideration; it is important that any recognition of multilingualism and multilingual competence in the EU legal order should contain an active element aimed at enhancement.

Amendments to paragraph 2 of the TFEU could be considered to recognise that the languages of the Member States include not only official languages, but also autochthonous languages as well as, for certain educational purposes, the languages brought to EU states by more recent waves of immigration.

The Council Directive requiring states to teach the language of the host state could be extended from migrants' children to migrants themselves and any dependents who accompany them.

More fundamentally, it could seek to translate the longstanding EU policy goal, dating to the Presidency Conclusions of the 2002 Barcelona European Council meeting, of teaching two languages in addition to the main language of instruction from an early age, into a legal requirement. This, of course, raises issues relating to subsidiarity, but it is arguable that the objectives of proposed action in language teaching cannot be sufficiently achieved by Member States, and can better be achieved at EU level.

Given the fundamental importance of certain public services, including health care, and emergency care – the interests engaged are arguably at least as important as those engaged in asylum procedures or criminal proceedings – and the importance of communicative ability in accessing a suitable quality of those services, EU legislation could be developed to require at very least the provision of translation and interpretation in accessing such services. Equality considerations provide further support for EU legislative action in these areas.

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Minorities,
majorities,
and
language
rights

- 14 Should the government slow down the decline of minority communities?
- 15 Should minority languages be taught to majority language speakers?
- 16 Are “unique” and “non-unique” minorities in similar situations when confronting domestic linguistic domination?
- 17 How important is demolinguistic concentration for the survival of minority languages in a world of increasing mobility?
- 18 Which principles help pre-empt the conflict potential of ethnic and linguistic differences?
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- 22 How should neighbouring states cooperate in the management of diversity?
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14 Should the government slow down the decline of minority communities?

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As a rule, individual choices that do not directly affect other people's well-being should be left to the individuals themselves; economists talk about a situation of "laissez-faire". In many cases, however, the actions of one individual directly influence the well-being of other people. In such cases, individually optimal decisions are rarely optimal for society too. This discrepancy between individual rational behaviour and collective optimality is an important justification for collective action. An example of this is when speakers of a minority language voluntarily stop using that language. There are, of course, communicational benefits to having one common language in society, but there are also costs to the speakers of minority languages, if they are eventually forced to stop using their ancestral language. In this case, there are good arguments for supporting bilingual minority communities.

What does research tell us?

In general, when contemplating various courses of action, an individual weighs her individual benefits against her individual costs and neglects the effect her actions have on other people. These "external" effects, which affect others, are called "externalities". Typically, an individual will tend to ignore either beneficial (positive externality) or detrimental (negative externality) effects to the rest of society (the social welfare) of her actions. An important externality related to language use is the "network externality". When Jane decides to learn a language, she creates benefits for herself since she can communicate with other speakers of the language. In her rational learning decision, Jane will compare these benefits with the various learning costs and base her decision upon this comparison.

What she does not consider is that she also creates benefits for other speakers who would like to communicate with her in this language. This "windfall" gain of the speakers of the language is the network externality. (The other speakers might also value the mere knowledge that other people learn and use their language; this, however, is a "normal" externality unrelated to the network effect.)

Suppose now that Jane had decided not to learn the language in question. In this case, there might be a possibility to make her and everyone else better off: the speakers of the language who would like to speak to her in that language could decide to reward her, materially or symbolically, for learning it. If the benefit each of them would experience as a result exceeds the costs to them due to the reward, and if the reward does convince Jane to learn the language, everyone is better off. In economic terms, it makes society more efficient.

It is unlikely, though, that such rewards will be organised through the spontaneous actions of the minority speakers and, hence, if there is a network externality, a *laissez-faire* approach means that too few individuals will invest in learning a given language. The inefficient individual decisions could be "corrected" by public action. This is an argument for the compulsory teaching of languages in school, for instance.

Illustration and evidence

The same argument applies when someone decides to leave a minority-language community, and real-world histories of language decline and language shift can be interpreted in this light.

When one or more speakers stop using the minority language, the remaining speakers then have fewer people with whom they can communicate in the minority language. If they value such communication, there is a welfare loss for the group and this loss does not enter the individual appraisal of the situation by the person leaving the community. The argument that the individual leaving the minority community would create a positive network externality in the majority community would only be accurate if he went from monolingualism in one language to monolingualism in the other. However, if the speakers of the minority language are bilingual, as is usually the case with speakers of Basque or Welsh, this argument does not hold: the speakers of the majority language do not get an additional interlocutor, since they already could communicate with the leaver in the majority language. The net effect is a loss to minority language speakers.

The person leaving the community presumably perceives a gain, or else he would not have made the decision. As argued above, the remaining speakers of the minority language would be prepared to reward the leaver to a certain extent and be better off if, as a result, he eventually decides to stay. For some potential leavers, the reward would make them better off if they changed their decision and decided to keep using the minority language. The reward would then make everyone better off.

When someone leaves the minority community, the further use of the language becomes less attractive for those remaining. In the individual calculus, a decision in favour of leaving the community would become more likely. A process of language shift could begin – or accelerate. Over time, this reduces the use of the minority language in many domains and can lead to a complete language shift. The negative network externality hence accelerates language shift in a *laissez-faire* context.

Policy implications

The externality can be counteracted with the help of a supportive language policy for the minority language, thereby creating incentives for individuals to use it more. This will in turn weaken the incentives for individuals to leave the community and alter some individual decisions to leave in favour of remaining. The public policy takes the role of the rewards in the thought experiment above and, under the incentives the policy creates, individual rational decisions will change and now lead to a collective optimum.

A direct consequence of this observation is that public support for a minority language is a socially efficient policy as long as speakers of the minority language value its use¹.

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1. The fact that the value the speakers attribute to the use of the language may increase due to the supportive policy is another type of argument, which further strengthens the network-externality argument made in this contribution.

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15 Should minority languages be taught to majority language speakers?

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The question addresses the problem of linguistic **domination** and the risk of linguistic **assimilation** of the minority by the majority language in linguistically mixed societies. The situation examined here is that of political entities where different “long-settled” or “autochthonous” language groups live together, sharing cities and neighbourhoods. Examples include Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country in Spain; Brussels in Belgium; Wales and parts of Scotland in the United Kingdom; Corsica, Brittany and the French Basque Country in France; parts of Transylvania with Hungarian-speaking communities; or the north of Scandinavia with Sámi minorities.

What does research tell us?

These societies have a clearly dominant language, often in terms of both power and demography, in which almost everyone is fluent or in practice compelled to be competent. Minority languages enjoy varying degrees of official recognition (whether by the national state, a sub-unit government, or both). However, such recognition typically especially targets minority language speakers and hardly affects the majority. The minority speakers are the ones who are granted some language rights, such as being taught in the minority language. Such rights, however, may not suffice to avoid linguistic *domination*, which can be seen as a form of linguistic *injustice*.

The concept of domination comes from political philosophy. It is grounded in the republican thought tradition, which seeks to minimize the injustice stemming from domination. Persons or groups experience domination when they are dependent on a relationship in which a third person or group is able to arbitrarily intervene (or exercise arbitrary power) over them without their consent or without taking into consideration their legitimate preferences (Pettit, 1997).

This vulnerability to, or dependence on, the arbitrary power of someone else should be removed if one wants to build a society of free citizens. Linguistic domination occurs when the speakers of language group X are made to “linguistically bow” before language Y. They are practically always expected to switch to the dominant language in the public and sometimes even the private sphere, but not out of a preference for doing so. Such adaptation is almost never in the other direction and, in general, minority members are bilingual but majority members are not. The high likelihood of communicating with majority language speakers (or worse, a feeling of inferiority) impels minority speakers to use the majority language in most domains. This results in forms of “diglossia”, a pattern in which the languages are assigned to different functions, and the minority language is largely excluded from certain activities. Diglossia is usually asymmetrical, since the dominant language is used in all domains, whereas the minority language is confined to limited functions.

From a political philosophy standpoint, “linguistic domination” can be said to require three conditions: (1) the fact that one of the groups needs to adapt linguistically to the other, but not the other way round (this is most visible in asymmetrical language learning); (2) a frequent repetition of this pattern on a daily basis; and (3) the fact that the members of the dominated group have no real alternative, apart from eschewing interaction with majority speakers altogether.

Fundamental principles of normative political theory suggest that linguistic domination qualifies as a form of injustice, and that, therefore, considerations of justice require countervailing measures.

These principles, then, lend legitimacy to the following recommendation: the education system should make it mandatory to learn all recognised languages, so that majority language speakers acquire a degree of competence in the minority language. Second-language competence should at least allow all citizens, independently of their first language, to *understand* the other language. This requirement can foster respectful policies that allow complex, hybrid identities to develop, which helps establish common ground for democratic dialogue. At the same time, it can contribute to solving the trade-off between inclusion (all the autochthonous language groups can feel better respected, and hence included in the community) and mobility (everyone would learn at least one of the other languages of the territory).

Illustration and evidence

Some empirical research confirms the relevance of the recommendation. Immersion programmes can be advocated in terms of both long-term educational success and the achievement of bilingualism and bi-literacy “where L1 majority language students are taught predominantly through an L2, usually a minority language, in order to become bilingual and bi-literate in that language as well as the majority language”. This can be even more useful if organised as a two-way programme where speakers of both languages share the same classroom, rather than a one-way immersion model (May 2010, 296). A study of over 210,000 language minority students in US state schools by Thomas and Collier (2002) confirms that immersion programmes in general work better for students, especially when comparing the academic success of students attending immersion schools and students participating in transitional schooling programmes basically conducted in English.

Policy implications

Although the main recommendation is to encourage, for fundamental reasons of linguistic justice, the learning of the minority language by majority members, considerations of proportionality also

apply. Imagine a society with a population of 1000 members, with 10 speakers of X, a “long-settled”, autochthonous minority language, and 990 speakers of Y. This situation may give rise to linguistic domination if our three conditions are fulfilled. However, requiring all Y speakers to learn X would be a disproportionate measure, unless some *additional* considerations come into play (for example, if X is widely spoken elsewhere in the world). A related consideration is one of efficiency. Sound public policy requires scarce resources to be efficiently used. In this example, it may be difficult to justify a considerable investment in time, effort and money to impose on 99% of the population the learning of a language spoken by 1%. These two conditions may be seen as a “where the numbers warrant” criterion (May 2014: 386–388). When this condition is met, however, imposing multilingualism on the majority can be justified on grounds of linguistic justice. Finally, the number of languages involved also plays a role. The larger the number of languages, the more difficult it will be to implement such a policy. By comparison with other continents, Europe is not endowed with a particularly high number of autochthonous languages. Thus, *decentralising* language policies to multilingual sub-units (such as, in Romania, the *județe* [counties] where Hungarian is spoken), significantly alleviates the feasibility problem.

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16 Are “unique” and “non-unique” minorities in similar situations when confronting domestic linguistic domination?

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Domestic linguistic domination may be defined as a situation in which a group uses its demographic advantage as political leverage to replicate certain institutional practices. These practices may perpetuate inequalities that result from sheer numbers, and enshrine an unjust distribution of powers between majority and minority. Political constellations which aspire to protect linguistic diversity as well as maintain a fair level of political equality between their members need to take domestic linguistic domination seriously and scrutinise these aspects accordingly.

What does research tell us?

The effects of domestic linguistic domination in multinational states tend to vary depending on whether they affect one or many minorities. However, what we generally observe is that linguistic matters become more complex in cases of multi-level governance or federalism. For example, the linguistic situation and rights of French speakers dispersed across English Canada are quite different from their position in Quebec, as well as from the situation of indigenous peoples and languages. Likewise, Catalan speakers are divided by regional borders within Spain, and those living in Valencia face conditions different from those experienced by those living in Catalonia.

In contexts of multi-level governance or federalism, linguistic domination creates incentives for the jurisdictions where the minority is concentrated to develop their own language policy. Since language is a major vehicle of identity, often involving emotional content, minority language protection and promotion is often accompanied by a widespread feeling of alienation towards the larger (national) entity; this is the case in Canada and Spain.

Thus, linguistic domination triggers reactions in the form of strongly interventionist minority-language policies, which pave the way for other robust forms of nation-building. This tendency is more pronounced in cases of linguistic domination of a “unique” minority by a large majority of speakers, which is more likely to result in the rise of secessionist movements. This, in turn, makes social cohesion and federal or supranational governance more complicated.

Illustration and evidence

Let us consider contexts that are perceived as essentially featuring one linguistic minority only. What we observe in such cases is that the way in which jurisdictions deal with the trade-off between mobility (between various parts of the country) and inclusion (in local communities) tends to reflect the power imbalance between the language groups. The dominant group will be much more successful at imposing respect for its members’ linguistic rights within the minority jurisdiction than the opposite. Compare, for example, the provinces of Alberta and Quebec.¹

The data are indicative of a general trend in Canada, where English speakers assimilate French speakers slowly, and assimilate “allophone” immigrants (those who have a native language other than English or French) at a much higher rate. As these numbers result from the interplay of policies and practices, one may conclude that federal policies do not adequately reduce the pull of the majority language, and federal language policy is arguably failing to guarantee a stable balance between mobility and inclusion across the country.

In places with multiple linguistic minorities, such as India, the political effects unfold differently. Where people are accustomed to living in a multilingual environment, the incentives for nation-building initiatives based on language are much weaker. At the same time, such contexts are not immune to the risk that one group will push for the pre-eminence of its language (for instance by trying to make their language the lingua franca within the political constellation, as Gandhi did when arguing for Hindi to become India's official language). In such cases, other political effects arise: (i) a myriad of local or regional language policy initiatives, which may be hard to monitor and risk deepening cultural divides; (ii) a quasi-impossibility, given the large number of minority situations, of uniformly enforcing official (national) language policy against expressions of local resistance; (iii) serious obstacles to the smooth functioning of multi-level democratic politics very difficult, notably through the creation of strong and lasting secessionist movements. In short, linguistic domination in political constellations with multiple linguistic minorities is likely to generate unpredictable patterns and divides, which make the democratic management of diversity very difficult.

RATIO OF PERSONS WHO DECLARE SPEAKING ENGLISH OR FRENCH AT HOME OVER PERSONS WHO DECLARE ENGLISH OR FRENCH AS THEIR MOTHER TONGUE (Source: Canadian Census 2011)

	English	French
Alberta	1.13	0.36
Quebec	1.28	1.02
Canada (total)	1.38	0.97

Policy implications

In most cases, the management of linguistic diversity, in conjunction with the arbitration of majority-minority relations, is intensely political. In order to create favourable conditions for domestic mobility and inclusion, it is advisable to:

- ▶ *Recognise minority languages* and adopt strict linguistic policies to promote their use in local institutions, such as regional parliaments and schools, as well as in federal institutions, in order to foster a sense of belongingness among members of linguistic minorities.
- ▶ The central entity should enforce rules that offer members of minority groups the same opportunities for mobility and inclusion as those enjoyed by members of the majority due to the influence that they have on policy.
- ▶ General principles applying to multilingual countries carry over, *mutatis mutandis*, to the language policies enacted by supra-national organisations.

1. Alberta was chosen as the province which has the strongest positive inter-provincial migration balance, and also the one with the strongest discrepancy between the home language and mother tongue variables.

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17 How important is demolinguistic concentration for the survival of minority languages in a world of increasing mobility?

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In various countries, people stop speaking minority languages and are shifting to languages of wider communication. Several EU member states have one or more “regional or minority languages”¹ and many of them are losing speakers. Intra-European mobility as well as migration from outside the EU are putting extra pressure on minority languages, and making their preservation even more difficult. This raises the question of how we can, at a general level, account for the interplay of factors that determine the vitality and survival of minority languages in a changing world – or, to put it another way, which approaches we can use in order to identify the language policies can help protect regional and minority languages to survive without impairing mobility.

What does research tell us?

Territorial minority languages are mostly used in certain geographical areas of EU member states. In these areas, a certain proportion of the local population is bilingual and speaks the state’s dominant language as well as the minority language. Geographical concentration is a factor known to be favourable to the long-term vitality of a minority language: a high number of speakers in a jurisdiction makes it easier to justify language policies to support the language, and the linguistic composition of an area affects the dynamics of language transmission, learning and use. Families in which both parents speak the minority language are more likely to pass it on to their children. At the same time, the higher the proportion of speakers of the minority language in an area, the higher the number of such families and the higher the incentive to transmit this language due to its relatively wide communicational range.

Moreover, a high number of speakers in an area ensures that people can actually hear and use it in their everyday life. In other words, a high proportion of speakers of a minority language within a territory means usefulness of, and exposure to that language. But just how important is it and how does it interact with increased mobility?

Illustration and evidence

Let us consider three types of territorial minority language: (1) those spoken in only one member state, like Sorbian in Germany; (2) those spoken in more than one member state, like Basque in Spain and France; and (3) those that are a minority language in one member state but the dominant and official language in a neighbouring state, such as Slovenian in Austria and Italy. Inward mobility can put extra pressure on all kinds of territorial minority languages in different ways. If newcomers already have the local minority language as their first language, e.g. Hungarians moving to Székely Land in Romania, mobility can even strengthen the minority language in the area considered. Frequently, however, newcomers do not speak the local minority language, and may not even know the majority language of the host state. Depending on the strength and presence of the minority language in public, in education and the economy, newcomers might learn the majority language of the state rather than the minority language. If the number of newcomers is high, this process reduces the proportion of minority language speakers and can weaken the language over time.

Language dynamics models (e.g. Templin et al. 2016) can help analyse the effect of migration movements on minority language maintenance in a rigorous and logical fashion.

They allow observable trends to be extended into the future and the effects of language policy measures to be simulated, at least to some extent. Since they allow the inclusion of additional variables that affect the relevant issues, they can also be applied to the examination of related issues such as the changing costs and benefits of competing policy options.

One important result of such simulations is that given a minimal proportion of speakers, families' willingness to pass on the minority language, as well as the use of the minority language in education, the minority language can actually survive in the long run, despite an ongoing influx of migrants. Simulations also indicate that teaching the minority language to newcomers and their children is especially important and can counteract the potential threat they pose to the minority language.

Language dynamics are simulated (see figure) for a context with a relatively large minority language X, a majority language Y and an influx of speakers of different languages. In the starting year, 30% of the population is bilingual in Y and X, and 70% is monolingual in Y. Due to newcomers' preference for learning Y over X, the percentage of X speakers decreases.

Assume that after 20 years, policy measures are introduced that strengthen the teaching of X to newcomers and their children. As a result, the decline in the percentage of X speakers can be contained.

Policy implications

Although mobility puts extra pressure on minority languages, most of the already established language policy measures to protect minority languages remain crucial. If inward mobility is desired, it is important for opportunities and incentives to be created for newcomers to learn the minority language, and to eliminate disincentives such as high direct or indirect learning costs.

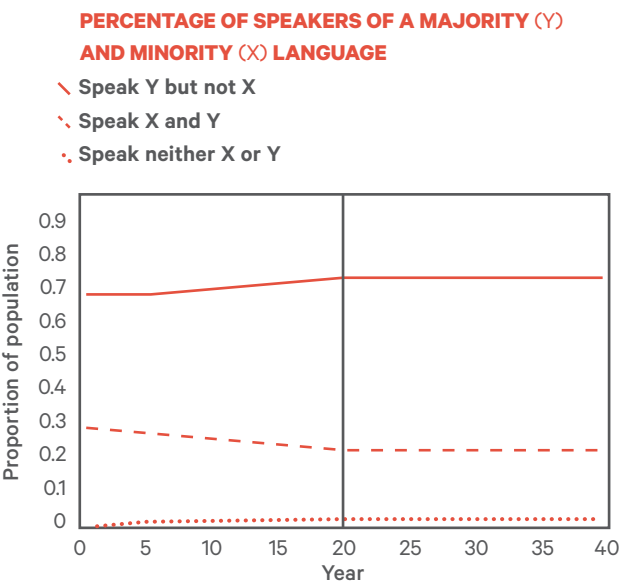
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1. In accordance with the *European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages*, we mean languages that are "traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population".

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18 Which principles help pre-empt the conflict potential of ethnic and linguistic differences?

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Ethnic, linguistic or religious differences may lead to conflict when individuals and groups compete over power, material and symbolic resources. However, language (or any component of culture) itself does not *cause* conflict. Rather it constitutes a “fault line” along which conflicts can crystallise when linguistic or cultural differences translate into incompatible political claims or unequal access to socio-economic opportunity within states. This entry focuses on the causal factors leading to the development of conflicts along ethno-linguistic lines.

What does research tell us?

The rules and practices governing language in administration, law, education, media, public signage and communication with the authorities and public service providers affect the interests and identities of people. Language is, therefore, unavoidably politicised in multilingual societies.

Conflicts between language majorities and minorities are nurtured by the logic of the territorial nation-state and the power asymmetries encoded in it. Modern nation-states, particularly since the 19th century, have almost systematically privileged ethnic majorities (“titular” nations). Majority and minority perspectives often conflict over the interpretation of realities and/or the desired model of state-minority relations.

The dynamics of conflict vary due to differences in historically formed administrative structures, power constellations and the relational position of minorities and majorities at different levels. The self-perception of many European societies as monolingual nation-states continues to shape policy choices, and even official multilingualism does not necessarily eliminate conflicts between linguistic communities.

The macro environment is not always helpful: international minority rights norms are often contested and subordinated to geopolitical interests; without a robust and common European minority rights regime, EU member states remain unaccountable for the non-implementation of minority protection commitments; and the primacy of domestic party politics often overpowers the influence of EU conditionality.

Illustration and evidence

Conflict patterns vary both among and within states. Field research in The Serbian region of Vojvodina shows that some places display harmonious co-habitation of ethnic and linguistic communities, and multilingualism in practice is reflected by almost unnoticeable shifts from one language into another (e.g. in Belo Blato/Nagyerezbetlak/Biele Blato). Conversely, conflict has flared up in other areas, following the influx of a large number of Serb refugees from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina after the wars of the early 1990s. Manifestations of conflict included an increase in ethnically motivated incidents (graffiti, damage to private property, to religious and memorial objects, as well as verbal and physical attacks) against minorities. Generalising from these findings, and taking account of tensions observed in other contexts, we may identify several conflict-inducing processes. They are summarised in the table in the opposite page.

Policy implications

The historical multiethnic and multilingual make-up of European states should be adequately reflected in legislation. Ethno-cultural fairness and loyalty towards the common state requires a combination of group-neutral and group-sensitive regulation and policies, the inclusion of national minorities' identity in the common concepts (e.g. inclusion of their language in public institutions), and institutional guarantees for their cultural reproduction. Non-secessionist minority claim-making should be regarded as a legitimate part of contestation about the terms of political inclusion in a multiethnic democracy.

Ethnic and linguistic pluralism should be reflected in policy solutions that exploit different tiers of government (national, regional and local), fine-tune the allocation of competencies between these authorities, and build in asymmetries in favour of languages most in need of protection. Policy solutions related to multilingualism should also reflect a complementary ("additive") approach, instead of an exclusionary ("subtractive") approach, enabling the learning of the state's official language as a second language essential to employment and social mobility, while reinforcing the mother tongue as a first language essential to identity, psychological and security needs.

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CONFLICT-INDUCING PROCESSES IN CASES OF ETHNIC AND LINGUISTIC "FAULT LINES"

Unwarranted securitization of ethnic and language issues: interpretation, by majority elites, of culturally framed minority claims as threats to state integrity; mistrust of separate minority institutions as sites of counter-state nationalism; from a minority perspective, the notion of a shared identity designed by the nationalising state and the imposition of ethno-cultural neutrality and group-neutral regulation become suspect as codes for assimilation. E.g. among many other examples, Estonia, France, Greece, Romania, Slovakia

- 1.
2. Violation of, restriction of the use of, or reduction of the scope of vested minority (language) rights: undisguised downgrading of the status of the language of the minority in administration, education, etc. E.g. Ukraine
3. Ethnic gerrymandering: redrawing of administrative or electoral district borders in ways that divide territorially concentrated minority population, reverse minority-majority status, and/or minimize minority communities' voting power and/or chances to enjoy minority rights. E.g. Slovakia (administrative reorganisation, 1996)
4. Contested markers of identity between majority and minority peoples coexisting on shared territory: competing efforts to associate a territory with one language and imposing an artificial territorial continuity in the marking of physical space and the operations of public institutions (possibly with an overemphasis on language as a marker of national identity over language as a means of communication). E.g. Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia
5. Unilateral kin-state activism and extra-territorial nation-building practices: efforts to reinforce the links with the kin state in a way that downplays minorities' sense of belonging to their country of residence. E.g. Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Serbia (vis-à-vis neighbouring states)
6. Competing nation-building efforts exposing claimed co-ethnics/co-nationals or "in-between" minorities to irreconcilable loyalty pressures. E.g. Bunjevci, Čams, Csángós, Goranci, Pomaks, Torbeši, Vlachs (South-Eastern Europe)

19 Why may it not be enough to learn only one of the official languages in multilingual settings?

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It is generally acknowledged that the learning of the official or national language of the host country is a central element of immigrants' integration into the host society. The European Commission's 2016 *Action Plan on the Integration of Third Country Nationals* states that "learning the language of the destination country is crucial for third country nationals to succeed their integration process" (European Commission, 2016: 7). A growing number of European countries implement language requirements targeted at migrants who wish to obtain residence or citizenship status.

Interestingly, the destination country is implicitly considered as a monolingual setting, although a number of EU member states have more than one official language or recognise different regional and/or minority languages. Why can or should migrants in certain cases be expected to learn more than one of the languages spoken in these multilingual settings?

What does research tell us?

The scope of language requirements in multilingual settings first raises the question of the tension between favouring migrants' mobility and their inclusion into the host society. Prioritising mobility over inclusion would imply placing only minimal language requirements on migrants and expecting them to learn, if at all, only one of the official languages of the host country. Giving preference to inclusion, on the other hand, would entail placing more substantial language requirements on migrants and expecting them, in a multilingual country, to learn two or more of the official languages in order for them to be able to fully participate in social, cultural and political life.

The number of languages to be learnt by migrants arriving in an officially multilingual setting also depends on the power relations in the host society's language constellation. Many multilingual states or regions are characterised by an asymmetry between a majority and minority language. As minority languages are used by fewer speakers and often used only in part of the territory, their perceived economic utility and attractiveness may be lower and lead migrants to prefer learning the majority language. For multiculturalism scholars (such as Will Kymlicka, a famous Canadian political philosopher who has specialised in rights and obligations in ethnically diverse societies), national minorities will to protect their cultural and linguistic identity while welcoming migrants may be a legitimate reason for imposing language requirements in the minority language in addition to language requirements in the state's official language (Kymlicka, 2011). In multilingual countries where the language constellation is less asymmetrical, and where language competition or conflict is not a major feature of the social and political situation, language requirements in one of the official languages may on the other hand be considered sufficient for migrants' integration into the host society.

Illustration and evidence

In this sense, various regional governments faced with an asymmetrical language constellation have deemed it necessary to apply specific language requirements on migrants in order to protect the standing of the minority language on their territory. In Catalonia, for instance, the regional authorities in 2010 introduced Catalan language tests for migrants residing in Catalonia as part of their integration process.

In Luxembourg on the other hand, where the language constellation is less asymmetrical, the ‘Welcome and Integration Contract’ delivered by the Reception and Integration Agency of the Luxembourgish government stipulates that migrants may choose a language course ‘in one or more of the three administrative languages of Luxembourg, namely, Luxembourgish, French, or German’¹. Similarly, in Switzerland ‘good knowledge of one of the national languages’² is considered sufficient to obtain a permanent residence permit.

Policy implications

In conclusion, in asymmetrical multilingual settings, migrants may be expected to learn not only the majority language but also – or rather – a second official or regional language in order to allow national minorities to protect their linguistic identity and prevent language shift to the dominant language. The trade-off between mobility and inclusion and the tension between the protection of minorities’ cultural and linguistic rights and migrants’ individual freedom can be mediated through policy arrangements.

OFFICIALLY MULTILINGUAL SETTINGS

Asymmetrical language constellation		Symmetrical language constellation	
Language requirements in both minority and majority official languages	Example: migrants should learn Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia.	Language requirements in one official language	Example: migrants may learn French or German or Luxembourgish in Luxembourg

Favourable arrangements may depend on creating incentives for migrants to learn the language(s) of the host society by improving access to language courses in the host countries’ language(s) at a low cost, rather than on imposing penalties. Finally, linguistic requirements should focus on language training courses rather than set a given level of proficiency: while migrants can be expected to learn one or more languages of the host society, it does not follow that all of them will be equally successful in doing so.

1. www.olai.public.lu/en/accueil-integration/mesures/contrat-accueil
2. Loi fédérale sur les étrangers du 16 décembre 2005 www.admin.ch/opc/fr/classified-compilation/20020232 ; this feature, however, also reflects the strictly territorial distribution of official languages in the country.

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20 How can the principles of territoriality and personality be combined?

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Two main models are often invoked to allocate language rights in linguistically diverse societies: territoriality and personality (De Schutter, 2007). According to the linguistic territoriality principle (LTP), languages should be territorially maintained. A state is divided into several territorial zones, and within each zone the language of the majority is official. Three versions of the LTP have been proposed¹.

- ▶ In the strict and most popular version, only one language is admissible in a given territory as regards (among other things) public administration, political life, judiciary procedures and publicly-funded compulsory education. A good example is Flanders (Belgium).
- ▶ In the weaker version, a territorial unit may extend recognition to more than one language but with a clear priority to one language over others (Grin, 2006), such as in the educational system in Quebec under its famous Bill 101, where far-reaching language rights are granted to Anglophones in the form of separate publicly-funded English schools, but where immigrants and French speakers are supposed to attend French public schools, restricting English schools to English speakers only.
- ▶ In the dynamic version, the territoriality principle suggests that, although the criteria for allocating rights are stable, their implementation changes to reflect changing demolingistic figures (for example, Finland) (Stojanović, 2010).

According to the linguistic personality principle (LPP), language rights can be enjoyed by people independently of where they live within the state or the sub-state. It is a free choice model.

A good example is Brussels: citizens can obtain documents, health services or educational facilities in either Dutch or French. Another example is Hungary which grants country-wide cultural and linguistic autonomy to certain minorities, regardless of their territorial location within Hungary.

Could the territoriality and personality principles be combined in order to improve mobility and inclusion? The personality principle may facilitate mobility within a state, but would not *a priori* strengthen inclusion. The territoriality principle, particularly its strong version, would *a priori* favour inclusion, but hamper mobility.

What does research tell us?

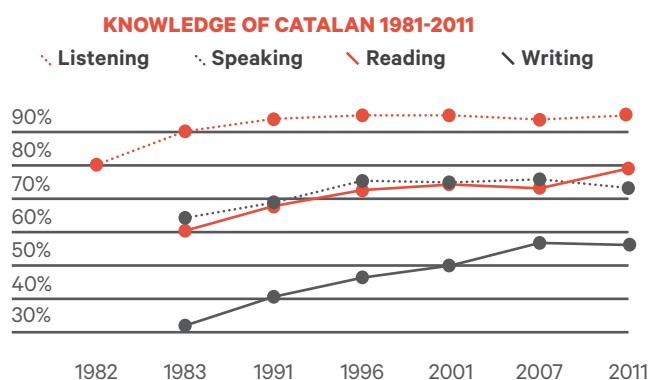
Both principles, however, have drawbacks. The territoriality principle may constrain mobility, while the personality principle may undermine inclusion. However, it is possible to identify possible extensions to, and combinations of, these two principles that can serve to improve compatibility between mobility and inclusion (Morales-Gálvez, 2017).

- ▶ Equal recognition of autochthonous languages: instead of establishing only one language as “queen” of a territory, which may result in domination by the biggest language groups, more support should be given to the weakest autochthonous languages (even in places where they form a local majority) through a principle of inverse per-capita distribution of the resources available for language policy. The fewer total speakers a language has, the more resources it should receive. The goal is to offer comparable services to all language groups regardless of their size (De Schutter 2017; Patten 2014; Grin and Vaillancourt 2015). This principle follows the weak version of the territoriality principle (because it gives more support to one language) and introduces an element of personality.

- ▶ Non-segregation policies for language reasons within the territories in order to bring people together instead of separating them: unified public services are offered (health care, education) in all the recognised languages, instead of physically segregating them. This principle, which largely dovetails with personality, encourages the learning of the languages of the other group(s). This fosters a shared sense of belonging and increased solidarity and social justice (Miller, 1995). Implementing this policy in compulsory schools would promote bi/multilingualism in the local languages.

Illustration and evidence

Catalonia is a well-known case of application of equal recognition to all the autochthonous languages, while giving priority to the minority language and without segregating citizens on the basis of language. In this case, (Castilian) Spanish is not only the L1 of the demographic majority of Catalan residents (55%), but it is also commonly known by speakers of Catalan as an L1 (31.3%). However, knowledge of Catalan has been improving over a period of 30 years. The current language policy was initiated in 1983. It was based on the equal recognition of both languages in public administration, while, at the same time, giving territorial priority to Catalan in order to spread knowledge of it (thus, Catalan is the main language of schooling).



Policy implications

An overarching normative implication of the foregoing is that mobility and inclusion may best be combined in societies where everyone has the right to speak their own language and the duty to understand other languages of the territory. The principles just outlined can help foster respectful policies that allow hybrid identities and establish a common ground for democratic dialogue and social justice. They are conducive to inclusion (because all autochthonous language groups can feel cohesively included in the community) and mobility (because everyone would develop at least receptive skills in the relevant languages of the territory, facilitating movement within and between sub-units on the national territory).

1. Some countries, like Switzerland, mostly use the strict version, but some specific parts of the country use the weaker or the dynamic versions.

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21 How does the hegemony of an “external” language affect domestic politics?

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The dominance (sometimes even the hegemony) of the English language extends to many more countries than those in which it is spoken as a first language by a significant segment of the population. It can also occur in countries which historically do not have an English-speaking community. British colonialism, now replaced by the neo-colonial features of contemporary corporate operations, is still having long-lasting political effects, which are discussed here with reference to the case of India.

What does research tell us?

Granting English a status that puts it on a par with local languages creates two main political risks:

(a) Conflicts between language groups in large countries with a high degree of pluralism make English a convenient and sometimes supposedly neutral solution to avoid linguistic domination. However, one could argue that this merely replaces one form of domination (majority over minorities) by another – especially in a country where English is the language of the former colonial power.

“[...] on February 2nd in 1835, Thomas Babington Macaulay’s minute on Indian Language policy was introduced. It says ‘we must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern... a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect’. This minute implies that English was introduced in the Indian educational system for the purpose of getting servants with English language knowledge.” (Sarath Jayasundara 2014: 3).

However, policies that do not tackle the issue of linguistic domination because they grant an external language official status (or do nothing to curb its influence, directly or indirectly diminish the socioeconomic and political value of local languages to the benefit of the speakers of that external language. In the case of India, this benefits English-speaking insiders or outsiders who can “legitimately” display what Belgian philosopher Philippe Van Parijs calls a “colonial attitude” (2011: 139–141). Hence, where there is a high degree of pluralism, legislators need to be careful when balancing the need for efficiency and the need to preserve linguistic diversity.

(b) Elected members of democratic parliaments normally have the responsibility to speak on behalf of their constituents, and an effective way of doing so is to speak in their language(s). In this respect, India and the EU have done well to grant official status to a wide range of languages and hence allow representatives to do just that. Yet, in practice, the dominance of English raises a serious issue of political legitimacy, namely, on whose behalf elected political representatives are speaking.

Illustration and evidence

In the case of India, the display of neo-colonial attitudes is politically legitimised by the fact that there are many other languages (22 in total) which have official status in the Indian Constitution. The resulting political dynamics vary from one case to the next, depending on the number of such “other” languages thus marginalised and on their demolingistic weight; in India, English is the mother tongue of about 0.2% of the population.

The anglicisation of the elites, as in India, disempowers local communities vis-à-vis external actors, historically foreign powers and nowadays (multinational) corporations. One could argue that when members of parliament speak a dominant external language (possibly English or a hybrid of English and a local language, which in India frequently means Hindi), they run the risk of representing the interests of a minority of English speakers more than those of constituents whose mother tongue is not English. More generally, the increased use of a dominant external language therefore risks creating a linguistic gap between the political class and their constituents. Resisting linguistic domination, through policies that promote the value and the public use of local languages, may contribute to people's sense of empowerment.

Policy implications

The experience of India suggests that granting official status to an external language is problematic and risks undermining fundamental values that normally underpin democratic political life. This point deserves particular attention where (i) the dominant, or hegemonic external language was brought in by colonial enterprises and (ii) where there is a high degree of pluralism, such as in the EU. It follows that the use of a dominant external language, in the social and political arenas in which citizens are involved, cannot be seen as an optimal strategy. Rather than being encouraged, the use of dominant external should be only be contemplated for circumscribed functions in clearly delineated contexts.

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22 How should neighbouring states cooperate in the management of diversity?

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The traditional view of nation states as linguistically homogeneous societies has never been a very realistic one, and is becoming less so in an age of mobility where people frequently move across national borders. A new approach to the management of diversity involves not only international protection of minority rights, but also bilateral cooperation between states.

One question that arises then is how neighbouring states can cooperate in this field and, in particular, how features of “reciprocity” can be “worked into” bilateral cooperation in order to broaden the language rights of minority ethno-linguistic communities.

What does research tell us?

The formation of homogenizing states, border shifts, voluntary and mandatory population exchanges, assimilatory state policies, and inter- and intra-state power asymmetries have established a context in which minorities are often in a disadvantaged position. Besides the international regime of minority rights, the triangular relationship between “kin states”, “host states” and national minorities offers a good starting point for understanding neighbourly relations in this respect. First of all, the concept of “kin state” must be applied with caution, avoiding an “essentialist” reading of language and identity. It makes sense, for example, in the case of Hungarian speakers living in Transylvania, German and Danish speakers living in Northern and Southern Schleswig. In contrast, it does not make sense for French, Italian or German speakers living in Switzerland, who do not consider themselves French, Italians or Germans, or regard France, Italy or Germany as their “kin states” (a shared language does not necessarily imply a common history and the same identity).

In short, the notion of ethnolinguistic kinship is politically charged and difficult to handle, but it frequently arises and requires deft treatment. Neighbouring states usually cooperate on political issues on a reciprocal basis. When identity issues and minority rights are on the agenda between a “kin-state” and a “host state”, bilateral cooperation and reciprocity may be particularly problematic.

In bilateral relations, reciprocity may in this case be understood either as a set of mutual, but unilateral measures supporting respective “kin-minorities” or a legal reciprocity enshrined in bilateral agreements. Under international law, the unilateral support of a kin-state for its kin-minorities living abroad, can only be accepted in exceptional cases (in the field of culture, education or language services – see Venice Commission 2001). Specific bilateral treaties concerning minorities are rare, but treaties on good-neighbourly relations often include minority rights provisions – in most cases on an equal footing.

Illustration and evidence

Some cases present a degree of symmetry (for example in the case of the Danish minority in northern Germany and of the German minority in southern Denmark), making reciprocity a natural strategy for the national governments concerned, as exemplified by the joint Bonn-Copenhagen 1955 declaration regarding the reciprocal treatment of the Danish and German minorities on either side of the border. In the midst of the nation-state-building wars in the former Yugoslavia and rising ethnic tensions in Eastern and Central Europe, the 1992 Slovenian-Hungarian treaty on minorities also provided a good example of the same reciprocal approach.

But as both cases show, reciprocity works only in those cases where the “kin-minority” communities living on both sides of the border are of similar demographic size. In many situations, however, reciprocity is more difficult to implement because of demolinguistic asymmetry. For example, there is a tiny, largely assimilated Croat minority living in Italy, while there is a sizeable Italian minority living in Croatia. Following the collapse of Yugoslavia, Italy was able to sign a treaty with Croatia concerning minority rights (1996), where this asymmetry is evident (most provisions refer to Croatia’s duties towards its Italian minority). In another, similar context the 1995 bilateral treaty provisions regarding minorities in Slovakia and Hungary respectively are formulated in fully reciprocal language, even though the Hungarian minority in Slovakia is around twenty times more numerous than the Slovak minority in Hungary. As in all inter-state relations, the balance of power, the wider international community’s approach and other non-legal elements may be crucial for bilateral cooperation on minority rights. As the case of Vojvodina (a Serbian region bordering Hungary where various minority communities live) shows, language may be particularly important in this respect. Most of the daily struggles are related to language use in public. In fact, a strong correlation between the public use of Hungarian and the demographic ratio of Hungarians can be observed – willingness to choose the minority language is negatively correlated with the symbolic dominance of the linguistic majority. On the other hand the close links with Hungary, migratory tendencies and access to Hungarian citizenship potentially increase the social prestige of the minority language in specific situations.

Policy implications

Neighbourly cooperation between states is only partly covered by international agreements. Unilateral measures adopted by kin states supporting their “kin-minorities”, like financial support or extraterritorial citizenship, are also relevant. States should take better account of the specific needs and situations of the various minority communities, thus rejecting automatic reciprocity. At the same time, unilateral kin-state policies should be better coordinated with “host states” in order to provide meaningful support for minorities. Against this background extraterritorial citizenship can help members of kin-minorities create contexts related mostly to migration and international mobility in which they can manifest themselves (identify and be categorised) as members of a cross-border nation.

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23 Why is the visible recognition (e.g. road signs, etc.) of a minority language important?

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The visual representation of a language is part of the linguistic landscape. In most cases, it reflects the relative power and status of different languages. The linguistic landscape of a territory can have an informational function and a symbolic function. The presence of a minority language and the way the language is made visible in public space is important for minority language speakers: language use in official and private signage influences people's perception of the status of different languages, and affects the speakers' linguistic behaviour.

What does research tell us?

Current research on the linguistic landscape studies a wide variety and modes of visual language use. The term was first developed to study the ethnolinguistic vitality of French in Quebec. Later, Scollon and Scollon established the basic method for qualitative, geosemiotic research into inscriptions and signs. Its fundamental contribution to the sociolinguistic description of a given community, area or city has been to assess how different minority languages are displayed and interpreted in the linguistic landscape. Today research focus may be extended to digital platforms operated by public authorities: it can also provide valuable information on the visual representation of languages.

There are two important and interlinked approaches. For sociolinguists, it provides clues regarding possible differences between the official language policy (as reflected in street names, in the names of official buildings and administrative offices, etc. – that is, the “top-down” dimension of the policy) and the actual impact of the policy on individuals' use of languages, particularly in private language signs, which may or may not be regulated, depending on the case considered.

If not, the use of various languages in commercial signage, which is visible in public space, provides clues about a more “bottom-up” dimension, namely, what place the residents themselves assign to these languages. From a legal perspective, the “official” linguistic landscape (official toponymy, street names, the names of public buildings, etc.) can convey information about the norms regulating official signage as well as the implementation of those norms.

Both perspectives are useful for shedding light on the actual inclusion of minorities in society. In general (with the exception of territorial language regimes with sharply demarcated language regions, as in Switzerland) the national majority language is likely to be used more often in the public sphere, even in areas where minorities live in large numbers, since in most cases the majority language enjoys a privileged status, and may even be the only one recognised as official. The legal status of a language is crucial in this regard: official languages are expected to be used in public institutions and reflected on public signs (names of institutions, offices, etc.). In certain areas minority languages may be on an equal footing with the majority language (e.g. in the region of South Tyrol in Italy).

States have considerable discretion in determining the rules of public language use. International human rights norms recognise the right to freely use one's language in both written and oral communication in the *private* sphere (ICCPR Art. 26–27). In the European context, treaties established under the auspices of the Council of Europe such as the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) recognise the right of minority language speakers to use their language in private signs available to the public (FCNM Art. 11(2) and ECRML Art. 7(1)d).

Left: multilingual signs without proper translation in Vojvodina, Serbia: Serbian Cyrillic, Slovak and Hungarian inscriptions on the primary school in Belo Blato/Nagyzerzsébetlak/Biele Blato, but without translation of the school name and the village name. Centre: fully bilingual sign at the Bolzano/Bozen railway station in Italy. Right: Bilingual signs in Dunajská Streda/Dunaszerdahely in Slovakia (different size and different colours, reflecting official language hierarchy).



In certain circumstances, this right extends to the use of the minority language on official signs (FCNM Art. 11(3) and ECRML Art. 10(2)g respectively). Proper implementation of international norms on minority language use is essential in this regard, since signature and ratification is not always followed by corresponding governmental action.

Illustration and evidence

In areas where a minority language is officially used, the implementation of existing laws will almost certainly have an impact on the official landscape. A different situation arises in areas where minority language speakers live, but where their language is not in official use – in such cases its visibility will depend much more on sociolinguistic factors (see illustrations).

Besides legal recognition, the socio-historical hierarchy of languages may play a role as well: a minority language that is an official national language in another state may be better represented, especially in border areas. Regional minority language speakers may face difficulties in seeking visual recognition of their ‘unique’ language. Moreover, the implementation of relevant legal regulation on the use of languages in public space may differ according to the socioeconomic status of the speakers of these different languages. Not only what we see but also what we don’t see may be informative, as for example the Roma language may be less visible than other minority languages even in areas where all minority languages enjoy equal official recognition (see Bartha-Laihonon-Szabó 2013: 14).

Policy implications

The linguistic landscape is influenced by a complex interaction of social and legal factors and in most cases specific policy action is needed in order to ensure the full implementation of legal provisions and facilitate the use of minority languages in public space. Such policy action needs to take into consideration the social context in which minority language speakers live. It is also important for policy action to be consistent. This sometimes means ring-fencing policy measures from local political considerations, and recalling that budget constraints usually do not constitute convincing arguments against them (the additional costs of moving from unilingual to bilingual signage are usually minimal). New developments, especially public digital services, will be taken into consideration by policymakers as new areas where the equal representation of different languages can be easily realised without territorial constraints. The protection of a minority language through the adoption of public signage that makes it visible is promoted by international norms and may also lead to better integration of minority and majority communities at local level.

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24 Does subsidiarity make for more comprehensive language policies?

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Subsidiarity can be used as a general principle to improve coordination between tiers of government (local, regional, national, supra-national [EU]). It can also guide inter-tier cooperation in language policy.

EU member state political structures differ in terms of their degree of decentralisation depending on their state traditions and language regimes shaped by historical developments and institutional arrangements, i.e. the historical and institutional foundations of their diversity governance. Typically, most structures have three tiers (national; regional/provincial; local/municipal). The real issue is the *distribution* of competencies between these tiers, and the way this distribution of competencies responds to current challenges (including power asymmetry, inclusion and dynamics problems) and contributes to cohesion as the result of the co-presence of (local) inclusion and mobility. The question is whether recorded experience from case studies suggests that a certain type of distribution works better than others for effective language policies, and if so, under what conditions. We have to keep in mind that the issues at hand, and hence the answers, may differ depending on what type of language policies we are talking about (protecting a “unique” regional or minority language), allocating language rights to a *national* minority, integrating migrants, etc.

What does research tell us?

The core question of subsidiarity, if it is to be fitted into an EU context, is that of the distribution of competencies between, on the one hand, member states (which can then devolve them to regions, and municipalities) and the EU institutions on the other hand, as part of the overall project of EU integration.

This core question takes on a specific meaning when applied to language issues.

A subsidiarity-oriented understanding of language rights and multilingualism should *both* rely primarily on the most *local* body capable of giving meaning and effect to language rights *and* accord authority and responsibility to larger, more comprehensive bodies to intervene so as to assist the realisation of language rights. Subsidiarity is a somewhat paradoxical principle as it goes beyond the rigid dualism of states and the international community – limiting intervention, yet requiring it. This duality is still evident in a notable ambiguity surrounding invocations of the principle and much of the disagreement about its proper application and its translation into language rights practice.

Illustration and evidence

Language policy choices and the governance of linguistic diversity vary case by case, depending on historical trajectory, shaped by different combinations of ethnic demography, territorial concentration, administrative structure, local practices and the application of international standards, constrained and guided by state traditions that are implicit or explicit in political institutions, allocations of power and state interventions in linguistically diverse societies. Federalist and unitary states embody different language ideologies and language hierarchies reflecting different power relations and conceptions about the relationship between nation, state and diversity.

The variation from officially monolingual nationalising states (e.g. France, Greece, Romania, Slovakia) to multilingual federal states (e.g. Belgium, Canada, Switzerland) illustrate the diversity of state traditions as well as incoherences and discrepancies between the language policies and socio-linguistical realities.

As to the power asymmetry problem, building the distinction between *minority* and *threatened* languages into a flexible territorial approach conducive to multilingualism and the application of “additive” multilingualism seem to be adequate answers. The additive approach is a complementary (and somewhat affirmative) approach that favours the maintenance of diversity in contrast to the exclusionary “subtractive” multilingualism. It allows the learning of the state’s official language as a second language (essential to employment and social mobility) while reinforcing the mother tongue as first language (essential to identity, psychological and security needs). It applies asymmetrical treatment of unequal cases, providing greater power and influence to the speakers of minority and threatened languages than their numbers. This is in keeping with a relative conception of equality which holds that human beings living in different circumstances and conditions are not similar and in certain aspects they need politically, legally and socially different treatment. Hence, additive multilingualism is capable of reconciling status differences in languages with equality in a world where majority rights are implicit, and minority rights are seen as “special” and in need of justification. As to the inclusion problem, devolving territorialism further can prove to be an adequate answer to the situation of minorities-within-minorities. As to the dynamics problem, change in ethnodemographic composition and constant migration flows may challenge the legitimacy of the language regime.

Policy implications

By departing from the rigid interpretation of the territorial principle and introducing variety-enhancing and tolerability-enhancing asymmetries, we can apply flexible forms of territoriality that have nothing to do with linguistic segregation, and can actually be reconciled with linguistic diversity by exploiting different tiers of government, fine-tuning the allocation of competences between these authorities, building in asymmetries in favour of languages seen as weaker and more in need of protection, and using decentralisation as one of the best safeguards of democracy. Language policies based on territoriality also tie in with the notion of inclusion. In Wales, for example, the inclusion of newcomers (whether they speak English or Polish) into *Welsh-speaking* society (e.g. in areas like Ceredigion or Dyfed) would greatly benefit from robust territoriality protecting and promoting Welsh.

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25 How can we enable mobile retirees to fulfil their obligations and exercise their rights?

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A key factor for facilitating both mobility and inclusion is that mobile persons are able to exercise their legal rights and fulfil their legal obligations. In the case of intra-European retirement migration, many mobile retirees are inadequately informed about their rights and duties owing to language barriers. They may also need specific information that applies to their rights and obligations as intra-European migrants and European citizens. What should policymakers do to provide them with such information, and what linguistic initiatives are required in this regard?

What does research tell us?

In both the scientific literature and the public debate there are different conceptions of inclusion in relation to migrants. Some conceptions focus on culture and demand either that immigrants assimilate into the host country culture or that host societies adopt multicultural policies that acknowledge and support minority cultures. Others focus on equal civic rights and obligations for natives and immigrants while regarding cultural habits as a matter of personal choice. This approach is commonly labelled civic integration.

From a civic integrationist perspective, it is essential that migrants have sufficient information about their rights and obligations in their new home countries. In the case of international retirement migration, important areas include legal residence requirements, taxes and fees, health care and social insurance entitlements, political rights, and local housing-related matters.

Yet research shows that many older persons who move in search of better quality of life lack important information on local laws and regulations.

One reason is that retired migrants often have limited knowledge of the local language. Another reason is that host country authorities often tend to regard international retirement migration as part of the tourism industry and to perceive the migrants as visitors rather than as immigrants and new citizens. Hence, legal and civic information to this group is not prioritised.

Illustration and evidence

Research from the MIME project suggests that civic integration is the most realistic approach to inclusion in the context of international retirement migration. More culturally oriented conceptions of inclusion would place unrealistic demands on migrants or host societies and might in fact restrict a form of mobility that gives large numbers of older Europeans an improved quality of life.

MIME research highlights several possible ways to promote the civic integration of mobile retirees. Expatriate organisations are a useful channel for dissemination of societal information to retired migrants. Larger retirement destinations often have well-developed infrastructures of ethnic clubs, associations and churches where retired residents gather and socialise with fellow countrymen. These organisations often provide information about local matters in the retirees' native languages. Local authorities may seek collaboration with such organisations to disseminate relevant information. Yet ethnic organisations do not reach all foreign retirees. Official information (in print or online) translated into the migrants' native language or English is a useful complement.

Some municipalities with large numbers of retired migrants have opened foreign residents' offices with multilingual staff to help with practical matters and assist in contacts with other local officials.

More specific solutions may be sought locally. For example, information about rules for local registration – an important issue in the Spanish case examined in the MIME study – could be provided when foreigners register the purchase of a house or an apartment at the notary's office.

MIME research indicates that consumer rights are an issue of particular concern for foreign retirees who lack knowledge of the local language. For example, there are reports of irresponsible telephone sales to foreigners with poor language skills. Telephone support services, especially IVR (Interactive Voice Response) systems, might also be difficult to use for older people due to language problems.

The question of rights and obligations also has a European and thus transnational dimension. Intra-European retiree migration takes place within a framework of free mobility and 'European citizenship'. It is also affected by different national legal and institutional frameworks, and sometimes by bilateral agreements.

In particular, the ability to navigate within and between different fiscal and social security regimes has significant practical and economic consequences for mobile retirees. Such navigation may be difficult and to some extent depend on the retirees' language skills.

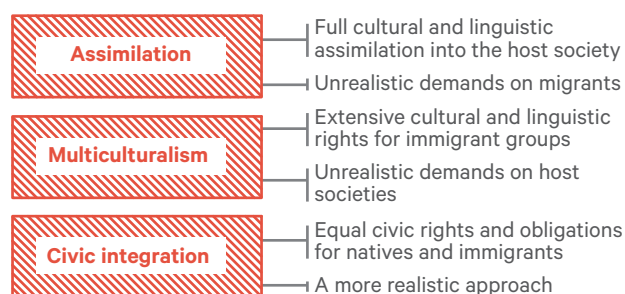
Policy implications

Host country authorities should treat migrant retirees as residents with legal rights and obligations – not as tourists or temporary visitors. As residents, migrant retirees certainly have a responsibility to seek the information they need regarding their rights and duties, but there are good reasons for host country authorities to facilitate this process. Useful initiatives include translation of relevant information into migrant languages, foreign residents' offices with multilingual staff and cooperation with local expatriate organisations. National and local bodies for consumer protection should pay particular attention to the situation of retired immigrants. There is also a specific need for information and counselling that considers the transnational condition of intra-European migrants. Bilateral agreements about taxes and health care entitlements may further improve life for mobile retirees.

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APPROACHES TO INCLUSION AND THEIR APPLICABILITY TO INTERNATIONAL RETIREMENT MIGRATION



Linguistic
diversity,
mobility, and
integration

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26 Can states impose language requirements on entry or naturalisation of migrants?

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As population movements in Europe have increased, language has been increasingly used, symbolically and literally, to manage and restrict access to residence and citizenship, with language being utilised as an “institutionalised gatekeeper”, effectively restricting mobility. By the same token, there is evidence that competence in the official language of the new state enhances economic and social opportunities, and that therefore the imposition of language competence requirements can enhance inclusion. Control of borders and access to citizenship are considered to be crucial aspects of sovereignty, and international law has typically imposed relatively few obligations on states, although in an EU context the right to free movement has altered the picture significantly, at least for EU citizens in relation to entry and residence in other EU member states.

What does research tell us?

The introduction of language requirements at various stages of movement into a state (entry to the state; acquisition of a work permit; attainment of citizenship) has become ever more common in Europe, which suggests that many EU member states are becoming progressively more prescriptive with regard to immigration. In 1998, only 6 states in Europe imposed language requirements and/or citizenship tests; this number had risen to 18 states by 2010, and to 23 states by 2013. By 2014, 23 European states imposed a language competence requirement in order to secure a residence permit, and 9 states required migrants to fulfil a language competence condition prior to gaining entry to the state (Bauböck and Wallace Goodman, 2012; Wodak and Boukala, 2015).

Language requirements that have been put in place to regulate entry to or as conditions for obtaining citizenship of a European state are frequently framed by states themselves as simply an attempt to assist migrants by promoting integration. There is indeed now a considerable body of evidence to suggest that acquisition of the official language (or one of the official or vehicular languages) of the state is crucial to successful integration, and evidence from many countries of immigration makes it clear that mastery of the national language(s) is fundamental to economic success (Hansen, 2003: 34–35). Migrants themselves tend to be aware of this, and usually have the desire to achieve sufficient mastery of the language of the state to take full advantage of the opportunities provided by migration and successful integration.

With respect to migrants who are citizens of an EU member state, the right to freedom of movement precludes the imposition of any language requirement for entry or residence (though states may still impose them should a citizen of another EU member state seek citizenship in the host country). Non-EU citizens (“third country nationals”) who have established themselves as long-term residents in an EU member state may be subject to language proficiency requirements should they move to another EU member state – Article 5, paragraph 2 of Council Directive 2003/109/EC, concerning the status of third country nationals, provides that EU member states may require third country nationals to comply with integration conditions, in accordance with national law of the member state – but such conditions must be proportionate, and it has been suggested that language tests imposed on certain categories of migrants, such as older people or those with limited formal education, may fail the test of proportionality (Böcker and Strik, 178–9).

Illustration and evidence

One important issue will be the extent to which the requirements are “proportionate”; generally, this principle requires that a measure which interferes with an individual’s interests does so to the most limited extent possible in accomplishing the measure’s legitimate policy goal. There may, for example, be a less compelling case for the imposition of language requirements at the stage when a migrant enters the state of a migrant to the state than at the citizenship stage. It is also likely that equality provisions of the major human rights treaties could be involved. Do, for example, language requirements have a differential impact on different categories of migrants, with the result that certain categories are more likely to meet (or fail to meet) the requirements? Language proficiency requirements usually require the migrant to engage in formal language learning, and this is generally easier for younger migrants, more affluent migrants, and migrants having more formal education. Are such requirements applied in a procedurally fair manner – for example, does the test being applied actually test language competence, or are there non-linguistic reasons why some applicants may have more difficulty in meeting the requirements than others?

Policy implications

Where states impose language proficiency requirements, they should generally be less demanding at the entry stage than at the stage at which the migrant seeks long-term or permanent residence status, or when the migrant applies for citizenship. The requirements should be relaxed for certain categories of migrants, particularly at the entry and possibly at the long-term residence application stage, such as the elderly and those with lower levels of formal education. Support, including financial support, should be made available to support migrants in formal language learning, and appropriate courses for migrants should be developed and made widely and easily available.

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27 Do mobile EU citizens see themselves as “Europeans”?

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In times of political distrust, where mutual solidarity and division between different groups in society are questioned, it is important to create a sense of belonging among citizens. In the nation-state context, this is done by stressing a common cultural heritage, a common language and a common destiny as part of national identity. In the European context, policymakers try to achieve a similar sense of “Europeanness” by, for instance, stimulating exchanges in the field of education and culture, and preserving linguistic diversity. Some will label this as a ‘European identity’.

One of the fundamental rights of being a citizen of one of the member states is the freedom of movement to work and reside in another EU country. One question that arises is whether the fact of making use of that right also strengthens people’s identification with “Europe”. Does it develop a local identity or do these mobile workers stick to the identity of the country of origin? And what role does the knowledge of the local language(s) play in this identification process?

What does research tell us?

Identity is an umbrella term that is used and abused in political discourse. Research agrees on the complexity of this term, with both an individual (a choice) and a collective (orientation towards a group) component. People do not identify themselves primarily with “Europe”, but it can play a role in a given context (for an overview, see European Commission, 2012). Recchi (2012) proposes two models to classify current research on the analysis of “European identity”.

The culturalist model adopts a top-down approach where socialisation since childhood plays a crucial role in internalising core European values. A less dominant perspective is provided by the structuralist model, which uses a bottom-up approach where European identity arises from interaction and association with others.

In the latter framework, research predominantly focuses on the effect of mobility of Erasmus students. The results are not conclusive. Depending on students’ experience, mobility can strengthen or weaken identification with Europe. Nevertheless, regular social contact with other Europeans has a modest impact on students’ identification with Europe (Sigalas, 2010). Recent research among young people (Mazzoni, 2017) confirms the indirect positive effect of participation in EU initiatives on the identification of young people with the EU as a political and cultural entity.

Little research has been done on EU mobility among adults. Research in Brussels (Janssens, 2008, 2013) shows that identification with Europe is predominantly linked to people’s educational background and position on the job market: the lower their educational level and inherent position on the job market, the least they identify themselves with “Europe”. Given the particular situation in Brussels, the majority of those EU citizens who identify with Europe are professionally linked to the EU institutions or its satellite organisations. For 70% of them, “being European” means sharing the same cultural values; only 8% recognise multilingualism as an essential characteristic.

Illustration and evidence

The previous table is based on a secondary data analysis of survey research in Brussels. The diversity of the Brussels population allows selection of a group of EU and non-EU nationals ($n > 800$) living in the city. Respondents were asked to evaluate the concepts with which they could identify the most. Responses were then recoded into four categories of identification: local, referring to the country of origin, Europe and international.

Identification with Europe is positively related to educational level of and economic position. Language does not play a role, although it does in relation to local identification (speaking Dutch, the minority language in Brussels, seems the strongest discriminating variable) and identification with the country of origin (correlated with a low proficiency in the local official languages). Overall, however, the sense of Europeanness is declining.

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS OF NON-BELGIAN NATIONALITY IN BRUSSELS (Source: Janssens, 2013)

Identification ▼	2007		2013	
	EU	Non-EU	EU	Non-EU
Local	67.5%	80.5%	72.2%	84.1%
Country of origin	55.6%	59.8%	37.7%	44.6%
Europe	60.9%	23.2%	53.8%	6.0%
International	4.6%	4.9%	10.8%	10.7%

Policy implications

The findings in Brussels are in line with previous research among young people: they develop a kind of European identity based on the benefits they enjoy. Nevertheless, identification with Europe is restricted to EU citizens with a high educational profile and an international network. Thus, European identity risks becoming an elitist concept.

Knowing the local official language(s) makes a significant difference in the sense of belonging to the local community, an essential element when aiming for more social inclusion. It is no coincidence that mobile students and employees who are more inclined to profess a European identity have little contact with the local population. Lower-skilled EU citizens know the local language(s) better and have more local contacts, but feel less “European”. As part of an integrated approach to mobility and inclusion across Europe, therefore, more attention should be devoted to (i) investment in foreign language skills among Europeans with relatively lower qualifications (e.g. young people in vocational training rather than university education), by reinforcing incentives for them to learn languages through individual mobility projects; (ii) investment in local (host) language skills by highly mobile people (e.g. “expats”), by reinforcing incentives for them to learn these languages and make inclusion part of their personal career projects.

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28 Which principles should we use to tailor language policies?

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The EU's commitment to multilingualism refers to the importance of language skills for both *mobility* – by focusing on the need to have a mobile multilingual labour force in Europe – and *inclusion* – by highlighting social integration, cohesion and intercultural dialogue (see European Commission, 2008).

In terms of policy recommendations, the EU has advanced the mother-tongue-plus-two formula (1+2 model). According to this model, each citizen should learn two (foreign) languages in addition to his or her first language. Implicit in this model is the assumption that individuals have one mother tongue and grow up in a monolingual environment. In Europe, however, an increased number of individuals live in highly multilingual environments, where historically entrenched forms of linguistic diversity interact with new languages brought in by migration and globalisation processes. To what extent are EU recommendations adaptable to such contexts of complex linguistic diversity?

What does research tell us?

Over the last decades, various waves of migration and the increased importance of English as the language of communication in intercultural and international spheres of commerce and cooperation have led to the emergence of new forms of linguistic diversity. In the social sciences, the concept of 'complex diversity' points to structural changes in urban societies affected by migration and mobility (Kraus, 2012). Complex diversity involves an intertwining of a historically entrenched "endogenous" multilingualism and more recent layers of a new, "exogenous" linguistic diversity.

This complex linguistic diversity is especially salient in traditionally multilingual European countries, regions or cities, which are today becoming host societies for migrants, refugees and various types of mobile populations. In such settings, tackling the trade-off between mobility and inclusion also implies overcoming or preventing different types of segregation (economic, spatial, social, political etc.) that run along linguistic lines. Comparative research conducted in the MIME project shows that individuals' language learning choices may disrupt the precarious balance between the historically present languages. The specificities of the language constellation and notably asymmetrical relations between a historical minority and majority language(s) and/or lingua franca are insufficiently taken into consideration by existing EU recommendations, such as the 1+2 model, which focus mostly on individual language learners.

Illustration and evidence

The cases of Barcelona and Riga show how the trade-off between mobility and inclusion is shaped by specific political, cultural and social factors. In both cities, we observe an interplay between the autochthonous languages, Catalan and Latvian, which have been revitalised after a history of oppression, and the languages imposed by authoritarian regimes or hegemonic powers in the past, Spanish and Russian. In the case of Luxembourg, even in the absence of comparable protracted oppression, Lëtzeburgesch had to overcome the dominance of German and French. This historically entrenched multilingualism has become more complex over the last decades: the increased presence of migrants' languages and of English as a lingua franca in different spheres have added a layer of exogenous linguistic diversity.

As a consequence, the language repertoires citizens use in their everyday life have become more heterogeneous and more complex.

At the same time, the specific sociolinguistic setting and the patterns of mobility in each city pose different types of challenges for social, cultural, political and economic inclusion into society. Overall, Both Barcelona and Luxembourg are facing a high population influx, while in the case of Riga emigration is the more important dimension of mobility. These and other peculiarities of the interplay between endogenous and exogenous multilingualism in each city need to be taken into account when seeking to ease the tension between mobility and inclusion.

Policy implications

In order to accommodate cases of complex linguistic diversity, EU recommendations should conceive societal multilingualism in a more context-sensitive way. Instead of formulating one-size-fits-all solutions, such recommendations need to acknowledge the historical minority languages as well as the dynamic of social and geographical mobility giving rise to peculiar language constellations characterising a territory or urban setting. Considering that individual multilingualism is closely intertwined with the linguistic constellation at the societal level, we introduce the principle of ‘auto-centred multilingualism’ in order to acknowledge that the individual and societal dimensions need to be tackled jointly. Policies based on this principle seek a balance between the promotion of autochthonous languages, whose command continues to be a central prerequisite for social inclusion at the local, regional and national level, the recognition of migrants’ languages, and the diffusion of a lingua franca.

1. We borrow the notion of “auto-centred multilingualism” from Rafael Castelló Cogollos (University of Valencia) but assign it a different meaning beyond the context of higher education (see the concept of “converging multilingualism” in Kraus 2008: 176–179).

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	Barcelona	Luxembourg	Riga
Endogenous linguistic diversity	Catalan and Spanish	French, German and Luxembourgish	Latvian, Russian...
Exogenous linguistic diversity	+ English + Arabic, Romanian, Tamazight...	+ English + Portuguese, Italian...	+ English

29 Must states provide mother-tongue education to migrants?

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The presence of significant numbers of migrants, both from other EU-member states and from countries outside the EU, is a reality in most EU member states, and such migrants have varying degrees of competence in the official language(s) of the host state. This poses challenges for the education policies of the host state at all levels, and in relation to continuing education for adults.

Historically, state-supported education has been directed at equipping students with functional fluency in the official language(s) of the state, and education through the medium of that language has been the norm. In recent decades, international law has begun addressing the consequences of increasing linguistic diversity. To what extent, then, does international law require states to offer education in or through the medium of the languages of migrants?

What does research tell us?

International law is generally deferential to state language policies. However, several international treaties contain principles relevant to the issue of the language of instruction of migrants. Different regimes apply in relation to children of migrants from other EU member states and from non-EU member states. Though ratified by only six EU member states, the 1977 *European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers* provides that parties to the convention shall arrange cooperatively for special courses for the teaching to children of migrant workers of the migrant worker's mother tongue (Art. 15).

These provisions were effectively reproduced in *Directive 77/486/EU*, and apply to children of migrant workers from all other EU member states: host member states, in cooperation with member states of origin, must take appropriate measures to promote the teaching of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin for such children. The 1996 *European Social Charter (revised)*, ratified by 20 EU states, also requires states to promote and facilitate, as far as practicable, the teaching of the migrant worker's mother tongue to the children of the migrant worker (Art. 19(12)). Where the language of migrants is also a minority language in the host state, their children may benefit from any minority language educational provision guaranteed by treaties such as the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* or the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*.

There are fewer protections for children of migrants from non-EU member states. The 1990 *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families* provides that states must ensure respect for the cultural identity of migrant workers and members of their families, although no EU member state has yet ratified it. However, children of migrant workers benefit from the protection of the 1989 *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, which stipulates that education must be directed at the development of respect for the child's own cultural identity, language and values, and of the national values of the country from which the child may originate (Art. 29).

Illustration and evidence

In many EU member states, well-developed systems of minority language education exist for autochthonous languages of the state and therefore there are many excellent models.

Provision of education through the medium of non-autochthonous/non-indigenous languages is very uncommon, Sweden being an important exception. Many states have responded to the linguistic diversity in their schools by creating programmes which facilitate the acquisition of the official language; however these are usually ad hoc, administrative responses, not based on any legislative or even comprehensive policy framework. Research shows that *Directive 77/486/EU* is not being effectively implemented.

Equality law considerations are relevant. Failure to provide mother-tongue instruction for children with inadequate command of the official language, at least on a transitional basis until full fluency in the official language has been achieved, may constitute a violation of the principle of equal protection of the law (guaranteed by Protocol 12 to the ECHR), on the basis that such children are effectively being denied an education of the same quality as students who are fluent in the official language (see the US case *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563 (1974), where this principle was applied). As our understanding of how language can pose barriers to the full and equal enjoyment of rights grows (see Piller (2016), UNESCO (2008)), this principle has the potential to make a significant impact on the language of service provision. Failure to provide some form of instruction through the mother tongue to children with insufficient command of the official language may also constitute a violation of the right to education, protected by Art. 2 of Protocol 1 to the ECHR (see *Cyprus v. Turkey*, [GC], no. 25781/94, ECHR 2001-IV). Finally, if some form of mother tongue education is provided, non-discrimination provisions would require that similar provision is given to members of other linguistic minorities.

Policy implications

At the very least, *Directive 77/486/EU* should be fully implemented by EU member states, and a standardised approach should be considered: the directive is meant to promote cross-border mobility, by ensuring that children of EU citizens working in other EU member states should be able to integrate effectively in their home state should they return, and the ability to do so should not depend solely on the education policy of the host state. Where children in primary or secondary education, whether from other EU member states or not, do not have sufficient command of the official language of the state, equality considerations strongly suggest that some form of transitional language education should be provided. In order to avoid inconsistent application of provision, at the very least a comprehensive policy must be considered.

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30 Is English sufficient to reach out to newcomers before they learn the local language(s)?

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Local organisations such as municipalities and public service providers have the task to ease the arrival of new mobile EU citizens, migrants and refugees. Although there is wide agreement that immigrants should learn the local language to foster middle- and long-term integration, additional arrangements are necessary for welcoming policies. In many situations, municipalities and local organisations need to develop a new strategy to reach a linguistically diverse population that does not know the local language yet. It is particularly important in situations in which ineffective communication can threaten the individuals' life or basic human rights (health sector, justice, education). In addition, welcoming policies are needed for new arrivals.

What does research tell us?

To be effective, the agencies need to communicate with the arriving immigrants in a language they understand. Information about formal and informal aspects of daily life (regarding administrative procedures, access to the job market, housing, health and schooling, facilities and key cultural and sporting facilities) should therefore be translated into the newcomers' languages. English is often used as the default language for such purposes. However, experience shows that English is not enough to reach immigrants. Only some of them are fluent in English for a variety of reasons, such as being born and raised, or having lived in an English-speaking country, or because of their education and/or professional activities. Many, however, have no English skills at all, or they only have a limited command of English that would not be sufficient for effective communication.

A study among social workers in Brussels shows that use is made of the linguistic skills of both staff and migrants, in English and the local languages (French and Dutch), but only for simple communication. "Social interpreters" (who are certified for social work) are necessary for more complex interviews (De Rijk 2016.).

Illustration and evidence

From "Local Welcome Policies EU-migrants", in the cities of Amsterdam, Brussels, Dublin, Hamburg, Copenhagen and Gothenburg we know a bit more about mobile EU citizens and communication problems on arrival in a new city. In Amsterdam (The Netherlands) Bulgarians are seen as a "difficult" group. They often do not speak English' (*Welcome Policies 2016 Final report*, Amsterdam, p. 43). In Gothenburg (Sweden) "Romanian is the most common language to use" by organisations working with vulnerable EU migrants, prior to English and Swedish (*Welcome Policies 2016 Final report*, Gothenburg p. 39).

Policy implications

For this reason, municipalities, and other organisations in local communities that play a key role in the reception of new immigrants such as job centres, public utilities, housing associations, banks, hospitals, schools, sporting and cultural associations, should not limit their efforts to English only. They should adapt their language policies to the specific characteristics of the new arrivals and prepare translations adapted to the language skills of the larger groups. This requires awareness and knowledge of the linguistic makeup of the local context and especially the linguistic skills of immigrants.

In addition to material in different languages (languages of communication like English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, and languages of larger groups), a version in the local language(s) should be made available to make sure that the information provided is accessible to local residents too, who might otherwise feel puzzled by the content of the leaflets and might feel excluded from the communication process, and possibly from specific arrangements and entitlements. It is relatively easy to give some attention to layout so as to enable the comparative reading of the same document in different linguistic versions for individuals reading them in two (for them) foreign languages. This does not only facilitate communication about content between migrants and local civil servants (or locals in their social network), but the brochures or flyers could also be used as teaching material in language courses for the acquisition of the local language(s).

For oral communication, local organisations also need to increase their awareness of their own linguistic diversity. They should encourage employees' ability to communicate in other languages than the official ones, so that these resources can be mobilised in urgent situations. A national system of distance interpreters that can be called by phone is an important resource – especially in the health sector. Municipalities and local organisations (such as hospitals) should join forces to create such a system if it does not already exist nationally. In certain sectors, especially in the health sector, the transition period in which interpretation/translation is deemed necessary to ensure effective communication and treatment, is much longer than in other cases, because a much higher level of language skills is required for newcomers to be autonomous in this domain; they need more time to achieve that level.

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31 Must states provide services to migrants in their own languages?

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Mass migration within Europe and to Europe from abroad has resulted in large numbers of people legally residing in EU member states who have limited proficiency in the official language(s) of the state. Like the wider population, they are reliant on a range of services, from health care and social security to vehicle and driver registration, and are required to interact with the state for a variety of purposes, including the payment of taxes, registering to vote (if they are entitled to do so), and so forth. To what extent is the state required to provide translation and interpretation services to such people? Are officials themselves required to be fluent in the languages of migrants in providing such services?

What does research tell us?

Since the early 1990s, a range of international legal instruments have been developed, including the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* and the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, which require the state to provide certain public services through a minoritised language in certain circumstances. Such instruments generally apply only to minorities of long standing on the territory of the state ('autochthonous' minorities) and not to migrants ('new' minorities), although if the language of the migrant is also a minoritised language protected under such instruments, the migrant may benefit from such protection. Recent research suggests, however, that the distinction between autochthonous and new minorities is beginning to weaken, including in the case law of the European Court of Justice (Burch, 2010; Medda-Windischer, 2017).

International human rights treaties such as the *European Convention on Human Rights* (ECHR) and the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* have always provided that those who do not understand the official language must be informed promptly in a language they understand of the reason for their arrest and the charges being brought against them, and in criminal cases are entitled to an interpreter. Although no other rights to minority language services are recognised explicitly in such instruments, the principle of equal protection of the law (enshrined in Protocol 12 to the ECHR) may require the provision of such services in some circumstances, particularly given the greater understanding which now exists of the negative impact the failure to provide such services can have on persons with insufficient command of the official language (Dunbar, 2006; Piller, 2016). Where, for example, the inability to communicate effectively in the official language adversely affects the ability to obtain the same quality of medical services as those who can do so, the state may be required to address this, perhaps through the provision of an interpreter or even the provision of a specialist with fluency in the minority language (where interpretation may hinder appropriate care).

Illustration and evidence

In many EU member states, the state is already responding to the needs of people who are unable to communicate effectively in the official language: multilingual public notices, information brochures and so forth are increasingly visible at doctors' surgeries, local government offices, and in other state institutions. These measures are generally not guided by any legislative framework or by any comprehensive and binding policy, but represent ad hoc responses to linguistic realities. There are therefore considerable differences in practice even within one state. The absence of a statutory framework or comprehensive binding policy creates the conditions for inconsistency in provision, with speakers of only some languages receiving at least some services in their language, something which potentially violates both the principle of non-discrimination (for example, where certain linguistic groups are overlooked or inadequately served) and equal protection of the law.

The principle of proportionality, a fundamentally important legal concept, is useful in articulating an appropriate framework or policy. First, the more serious the consequences arising from the inability to communicate in the official language, the more compelling is the need for the state to ensure equality of treatment by providing access to the service through the user's language. In the most serious of contexts – for example, those analogous to the deprivation of liberty (which involves the right to an interpreter, discussed above – the obligation to provide the service, either through an interpreter or by the service provider, may be absolute. Second, in other cases, the level of provision can be determined by the application of a 'sliding scale', with greater provision available where there are greater concentrations or numbers of speakers of a particular language who are unable to communicate effectively in the official language.

Policy implications

Consideration should be given by states to the extent to which minority language public and administrative services are already provided in languages other than the official language. Where there is provision, the nature of the service being provided, the numbers of speakers of the minority language, and the degree to which there are significant concentrations of speakers should all be considered in determining the level of services to be provided and the languages in which such services will be delivered.

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32 Can language policies improve employment outcomes for female immigrants?

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A person's enjoyment of meaningful work can be affected by their language skills as well as by language use in society and the workplace. Empirical evidence suggests that immigrants who are not competent speakers of the majority language are in general disadvantaged in employment markets, and that female immigrants in particular may face additional hurdles. This raises the question of whether language policies can be designed to help remove linguistic barriers to employment which tend to disproportionately affect women.

What does research tell us?

Existing research by economists has established that being unable to speak the local language has a negative impact on earnings amongst immigrants (Chiswick and Miller, 1995; Dustmann & Van Soest, 2002). Some studies suggest that this phenomenon also has a gendered dimension. For instance, research in Holland found that whilst female immigrants with poor Dutch language skills earned less than female immigrants with better Dutch language skills, the same relation did not hold for men (Yao & Van Ours, 2015). One explanation for this is that male and female immigrants often face different kinds of barriers to employment. For example, a study of African immigrants in Canada found that whilst immigrant men often retain access to blue-collar work, immigrant women are more likely to be perceived to lack the language skills required for comparable and traditionally feminine occupations, for instance in retail, administration or care work (Creese & Wiebe, 2012).

Perhaps the disadvantages experienced by female immigrants, by comparison with male immigrants, simply reflect wider patterns of gendered inequality in employment markets, since women in general earn less than men, for various reasons. However, if there are specific linguistic disadvantages that female immigrants are especially likely to face, then these will need to be understood if they are to be successfully addressed by public policies.

Illustration and evidence

The main linguistic reason why people are unable to secure satisfactory work is that they lack the language skills sought by employers, and this disadvantage will be compounded if they are unable to improve their language skills. Although these circumstances may be experienced by a number of different social groups, they arise most frequently amongst poorer people, and especially amongst less well-off immigrants who arrive without proficiency in the locally dominant language. This is because less well-off migrants typically have fewer opportunities for employment in the first place, and because suitable language learning opportunities are either unavailable or difficult to access, especially for those already engaged in survival employment. As a result, immigrants without majority language skills may be more vulnerable to experiencing protracted periods of underemployment, in which one takes a job below one's level of qualifications.

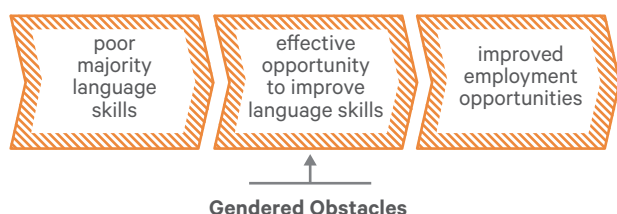
Importantly, female immigrants may be specifically disadvantaged when it comes to acquiring majority language skills. On the one hand, one study has found that stay-at-home housewives tend to learn dominant languages less quickly than men in employment (Pavlenko & Piller, 2001). This suggests that some women who are currently outside the labour market will face special disadvantages if they seek employment in the future. On the other hand, women currently in unsatisfactory employment, and who might benefit from acquiring additional language skills, may struggle to do so if they are additionally burdened by performing a 'second shift' at home (Hochschild, 2012).

Policy implications

Public policies in mobile societies should aim to ensure that everyone has a real opportunity to enjoy satisfactory employment. In order to achieve this, language policies must be informed by facts about existing structural inequalities, to ensure that they do not exacerbate them. For example, if learning a new language is too costly, then the benefits of doing so will be restricted to those who can afford it. For this reason, language policies intended to support inclusion by improving the employment prospects of immigrants should also be informed by facts about gendered inequalities, and especially by the specific challenges faced by female immigrants – both at home and in work – in acquiring competence in the majority language.

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33 How can language policy improve migrants' "motility"?

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"Motility" refers to people's *potential* mobility. The degree of motility depends on how easy it is for a person to move from one place to another; this, in turn, also depends, among other things, on the person's skills (including language skills). The notion of motility meshes with analyses of migration from a variety of perspectives, whether socio-economic (e.g. how language skills relate to labour market success) (Koopmans 2010) or socio-cultural / psychological (e.g. how more or less assimilationist policies relate to the mental health of cultural minorities) (Horenczyk 1996, Van Oudenhoven et al. 1998, Arends-Tóth & Van De Vijver 2003). Language policy may also influence motility (Houtkamp 2017). By making it easier for people to move in order to take advantage of better opportunities elsewhere, motility can be expected to correlate with an improvement in socio-economic conditions.

What does research tell us?

Research on motility is still relatively new. The concept, initially developed in biological research, was introduced in urban sociology by Kaufmann et al. (2004), in order to design an integrated framework to study the various facets of the potential for mobility and of the capital that facilitates mobility. In the context of the MIME project, the use of the notion of motility was extended to socio-linguistic issues (Houtkamp 2014), highlighting the importance of the linguistic infrastructure. In the case of international migration, this infrastructure includes facilities for both mother tongue education and host language acquisition. Also relevant is migrants' own perspective on the value of their linguistic skills, both in their country of residence and in potential host countries. Relatedly, migrants' evaluation of language policy in their current country of residence is also relevant.

Illustration and evidence

In order to assess the interplay between language policy and motility, 60 interviews with Turkish and Polish immigrants and their descendants were carried out between 2015 and 2017 in the Netherlands, France and Sweden. Respondents were asked about their attitudes towards mother tongue education (that is, teaching in or of the language of their country of origin) and host language acquisition facilities. The interviews also investigated respondents' skills in other EU languages, and they were asked which languages they would be interested in studying in order to increase their intra-EU mobility. Four main conclusions emerge.

1. *Host society language acquisition is deemed extremely important by the respondents, but they criticise its practical implementation, in particular its strong focus on grammar.* Our respondents consider that the courses would be more effective with more emphasis on oral communication skills.
2. *Perspectives on mother tongue education and multilingualism in general seem to be a class issue.* In the Netherlands, parents with a low socio-economic status sometimes express misgivings about raising their children bilingually or enrolling them in bilingual education out of fear that this might hamper their chances of learning the host language, and thus restrict their socio-economic opportunities.
3. *Some respondents worry that mother-tongue education policies, and multicultural policies in general, may end up fostering segregation,* and the data also reveals a certain uneasiness among respondents when pondering the effects of mother tongue education programmes and facilities on processes of integration and inclusion into the local social and linguistic context.

4. *Mother-tongue skills are relatively often cited as a facilitator for mobility in the EU, in particular for ethnic communities dispersed in many different countries; both the Poles and the Turks interviewed report frequent contact between ethnic peer communities across the EU. Therefore, granting immigrant language education rights increases their motility, which can be expected, in general, to improve their socio-economic position.*

Policy implications

Our interviews on the linguistic dimension of potential mobility, or “motility”, suggest that as a general policy orientation the authorities should develop and support a comprehensive programme of language education for mobile people. This programme should encompass local (official) language teaching but extend to immigrant (heritage) languages as well. One dimension of such a programme ought to be an emphasis on language as a portable skill that reinforces people’s potential mobility, or motility. “Motility” matters, because it makes it easier for people to identify better socio-economic opportunities, and to move to other locations where such opportunities can be accessed.

The necessity of learning the local language is generally recognised as obvious, in order to facilitate access to the local labour market as well as to foster harmonious inclusion into host country society. However, interviews show that there is, among users, a need for practicality. Host country language courses (in particular for adults) ought to pay special attention to matching between course contents and actual user needs.

Access to mother-tongue (or “heritage language”) courses matters not just for reasons of linguistic human rights, which in turn invoke equality in the conditions of access to literacy, but also because facilitating contact, in other EU countries, with other expatriate or migrant communities sharing the same language increases motility as well, with its positive socioeconomic consequences.

Some immigrant parents fear that heritage language maintenance could have a detrimental effect on their children’s future. However, this fear is not borne out by research on the socio-economic trajectories of migrants. Under-use of mother-tongue education programmes may in fact widen the gap between the range of language skills of poorer and richer immigrants, even if immigrant languages are granted extensive rights. Hence, the authorities ought to emphasize, through information campaigns, the advantages of bilingualism.

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34 How should national language policies be adapted to the context of specific cities?

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In most European countries, authorities use one or, in some exceptional cases, two official state languages when communicating with citizens. This practice stands in marked contrast to the linguistic profile of urban populations in many major European cities, which have tended to become considerably more multilingual than non-urban regions. This rapid growth in population from different origins and the corresponding linguistic diversity are experienced not only by “mega-cities”, but also by urban settlements with less than 500,000 inhabitants (Carson & King, 2016: 2). Consequently, there are distinct challenges that increasingly multilingual cities must face when it comes to language management and language policies.

This urban linguistic diversity gives rise to tension between two goals: the goal of accommodating residents’ and newcomers’ social and geographical mobility on the one hand, and their inclusion in urban society on the other. While the goal of high mobility requires skills in additional languages, the goal of an inclusive society is linked to acquiring skills in the local language(s). Additionally, local public services may not always be tailored to the needs of newly arrived immigrants, as these often speak a language other than the official language(s). This situation may slow down, and possibly impede immigrants’ inclusion in the host society.

What does research tell us?

In a very simplified approach (used here for the sake of brevity), language management can be arranged in three areas that are especially relevant to multilingual urban settings:

- policies defining the public use and status of languages,
- policies targeted at facilitating language learning, and
- policies regulating the provision of public service translation and interpreting (Skrandies, 2016: 114).

These areas are directly linked to the goals of supporting the inclusion and mobility of residents. However, they differ in terms of possible adaptation to a specific urban context.

Illustration and evidence

Regarding the first type of language management, most states have implemented legislation according to which only the official language(s) and a number of regional languages in the territories where they are spoken can be used in public and official communication. The majority of European states, including for example France and Germany, have a *de jure* monolingual administration. Other states, such as Finland and Ireland, are *de iure* bilingual countries. Where numbers warrant, such bilingualism is also adopted by their municipal authorities, which use the official languages or regional languages in communication with the city population. All in all, it can be said that the use of language in official communication at the municipal level is often regulated by legislation at the national level.


As to the second set of policy measures, which address language acquisition, language learning programmes can be modulated in order to target the acquisition of both the majority and minority languages present in a city.

In some states, such as Latvia, municipalities are given budget resources for organising language classes tailored to language learning needs as they emerge at the local level. The incorporation of specific foreign languages into school curricula is, however, often regulated by the department of education at the level of the state (or the region in some federal states).


As regards the third of the policy areas mentioned above, namely, the provision of public services in several languages, national language policies can be most easily adapted to the context of a specific city. In this regard, local governments can take the initiative to overcome communication barriers with their residents and increase the integration of linguistic minorities without affecting the legal status of the languages spoken by the population. This has been illustrated by a multiple case study of multilingual cities in Europe, Canada and Australia which gives insights into different approaches to language management in urban contexts (King & Carson, 2016).

These examples show that, across very different legislative frameworks at the national state level, municipal authorities can respond to the *de facto* multilingualism of the urban population (and would generally benefit from doing so).

ADAPTING LANGUAGE POLICIES TO LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN URBAN CONTEXTS

 **National level**
Language policies regulating public use and status of languages

 **National level + complementing regulations at regional level**
Language policies targeted at language learning

 **Local level**
Policies facilitating public service translation and interpreting

Policy implications

In a nutshell, national language policies should be complemented by actions at the local level to match the specific urban context. Support for multilingualism through policy and practice at the local level can also broaden majority citizens' linguistic repertoires and hence provide them with more opportunities for mobility. Together with local language learning by newcomers, this favours the development of a multilingual ethos that is conducive to a sense of belonging, and hence inclusion, in a (more multilingual) community.

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35 Why should we combine different communication strategies?

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Globalisation increases the frequency of contact with linguistic diversity, making multilingual and transnational communication strategies more relevant. One of these transnational communication strategies involves lingua franca communication. A lingua franca (LF) is a bridge language used by interlocutors for communicative purposes; traditionally, a lingua franca is the native language of none of the interlocutors. Many commentators observe that English is on the rise as a global lingua franca. However, this raises two types of problems:

- ▶ if the spread concerns a standard variant of English, we may be facing a case of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 2006) with detrimental effects on linguistic justice;
- ▶ if, on the contrary, we view this process as the dissemination of something radically different from English (something often referred to, by its proponents, as *English as a lingua franca* (ELF); see for example Hülbauer, 2011), other types of problems arise. In the literature, *English as a lingua franca* is, indeed, sometimes used to refer to English as spoken by non-native speakers, and departing from the morphological and lexical features of standard English. ELF advocates claim that these non-standard characteristics should be accepted and that this would democratise international communication and strip English of its potentially imperialistic character. Such a view, however, does not adequately address concerns over the long-term effects of its spread for linguistic diversity and linguistic justice (Gazzola and Grin, 2013).

If English is to be used, then, it must be part of a broader strategy.

What does research tell us?

Using English as a global language has ambivalent effects on mobility and inclusion (Gazzola & Grin, 2013). It is used effectively only by the higher echelons of society that have received an education allowing them to develop competence approximating native-speaker norm. In general, however, this is not accessible for the lower echelons of society, as shown by the *Adult Language and Literacy Survey* with almost 200,000 respondents (Gazzola, 2016). Conversely, promoting (possibly under the label of *English as a lingua franca*) several, non-standard or even idiosyncratic variants of English may hamper inclusion in global or local communities. Therefore, the use of a lingua franca (whether English or any other) should be combined with other multilingual or transnational communicative strategies.

Illustration and evidence

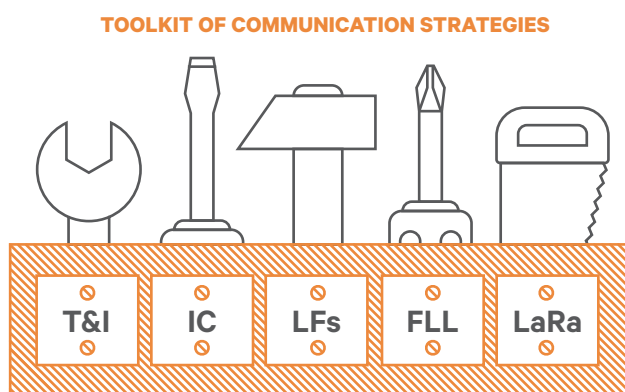
These other strategies include the following.

1. Using several languages of wider communication as alternatives to English or “ELF”. Since languages with an ethnic base give rise, even to a lesser extent, to problems similar to those sketched above for English, the contribution of planned languages (e.g. Esperanto) (or even, in some contexts, of ancient languages such as Latin) should not be neglected.
2. Developing reciprocal *receptive* but not *productive* skills in the interlocutor’s language. This strategy is known as *lingua receptiva* (LaRa). *Intercomprehension* (IC) can be seen as one form of the *lingua receptiva* strategy focusing on languages closely related to one’s native language; it operates within language families such as Slavic, Germanic, or Romance languages.

3. Other strategies like translation and interpreting (T&I) are also part of the toolkit of communication strategies that can be used to favour mobility and inclusion in international communication. All of these communication strategies can be facilitated by ICT, such as machine translation.
4. Finally, people who need to engage in in-depth, sustained communication with people speaking another language will generally find that learning that language, though potentially costly in time and effort, remains an irreplaceable strategy, i.e. the strategy of *Foreign language learning* (FLL).

Policy implications

The challenges of communicating should be approached in the spirit of a ‘Toolkit’ for multilingual and transnational communication (Jørgensen 2011). Although English is an indisputably relevant tool in the kit, it is not the only one. The Toolkit can include all the other strategies just listed, with an emphasis on the mutual complementarity between them.



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36 How should municipalities collect and share data about the linguistic profiles of their resident communities?

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Local awareness and knowledge of the local linguistic environment is key to a better utilisation of existing linguistic resources and an offer of better services. However, European- and national-level statistics generally lack relevance to local situations because mobile EU citizens, third-country nationals and refugees are not evenly spread over the national territory.

What does research tell us?

The available data are generally based on non-linguistic attributes (such as nationality or country of birth used as a proxy, in which case the main language of the country of birth and/or citizenship is often assumed to be a person's main language) or census questions on mother tongue in (where a census is taken). This knowledge is very partial and focuses primarily on residents' first language, at the expense of a more nuanced and complex representation of individual linguistic repertoires. These statistics often measure self-reported skills in the official language, in which case these skills in the official language are used as a rough measurement of integration and an argument for measures to enhance the use of the official language. Other language skills and their importance for social integration, educational paths and/or opportunities on the labour market are usually neglected.

Therefore, to tackle these problems municipalities should not only keep track of the linguistic characteristics of the population in their jurisdiction, but also pay particular attention to collecting data on other relevant linguistic variables, like skills in additional languages and patterns of language use in various contexts. Language skills could be monitored in conjunction with surveys on literacy (as well as Internet literacy).

Finally, these surveys could address metalinguistic skills. This would increase awareness of the importance of such skills for navigating a linguistically diverse society. Collecting this type of data, however, requires sensitivity and caution: they must enhance collective knowledge of the community without compromising the personal integrity and the privacy of individual residents.

Illustration and evidence

Such extensive data collection is unlikely to be a top priority of local governments, but inspiring examples exist. *Multilingual Graz* is a research project of the University of Graz (Austria) led by Dieter Halwachs that since 2012 has documented the languages spoken by the inhabitants of the city. It aims at improving local authorities' knowledge of cultural diversity based on the state citizenship of its residents. The website presents the languages observed in Graz (see screenshot). Each cell in this clickable table gives access to background information about the language (its name, speakers, status and area, written form and translation of standard greetings), sound fragments (with transcription and translation into German) and language biographies and language use profiles of residents of Graz speaking that language.

Policy implications

With a more nuanced assessment of the local linguistic repertoires, local authorities can adapt and improve their welcome and education policies as well as the organisation of local cultural activities.

Changes regarding the main languages of the groups arriving in the city could be signalled earlier; the efficiency of education policies could be improved by taking into account data on the main home languages of the pupils and their parents. Language courses for adult migrants could be more precisely targeted. With better knowledge of the languages mastered by learners of the local language(s) and with more insights into the language skills of newcomers, courses provided for the acquisition of the local language(s) could be organised more efficiently. For example, learners with similar language repertoires and skills or starting from the same language could be grouped together in order to focus on specific problems (from pronunciation to vocabulary and pragmatics).



Screenshot of the main page of the website *Multilingual Graz* representing observed languages in Graz (accessed 19 July 2017).

Such data collection can also be useful to raise awareness among all local residents about their linguistically diverse environment. Insight into the linguistic environment is also useful for organising local cultural activities. Public libraries could offer books and audio-visual materials in the main languages spoken in the local community and offer residents the opportunity to maintain and to expand their linguistic repertoires. Community activities could be organised to introduce (other) residents to the local linguistic diversity and to facilitate exchange between speakers of the same language or between those interesting in learning them. Likewise, social cohesion could be boosted by matching local volunteers with whom conversation lessons may be traded with migrants (this formula is known as the “tandem” model). Local schools can open their doors after school time to provide the infrastructure for such encounters (after working hours for most immigrants and volunteers).

References and further reading

Language statistics typically pertaining to mother tongue, language taught in secondary education or self-reported language skills:

Languages in Secondary Education: An Overview of National Tests in Europe – 2014/15

► eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/facts_and_figures/187EN_HI.pdf

Office for National Statistics 2013 Language in England and Wales (2011). *Language in England and Wales: 2011*. ► goo.gl/gm5KJz

Special Eurobarometer 386: Europeans and their Languages ► ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_386_en.pdf

See Tube Tongues for a visualisation based on these census data for languages around underground stations in London ► goo.gl/Dm6wUf

37 Does mobility lead to an increasing use of English at the expense of local languages?

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One of the fundamental principles of the European Union is the preservation of linguistic and cultural diversity. However, one cannot deny the dominance of English as the most widely known language, spoken by 38% of the Europeans at varying degrees of competence (European Commission, 2012). In higher education, the increasing use of English as a language of instruction and as the dominant language in science is viewed as a vehicle for internationalisation, which encourages the mobility of students and researchers. Meanwhile, English is often used as a corporate language in an international economic context. The question is whether this evolution harms the position of the local language(s).

What does research tell us?

The context of Brussels, where 23% of the population hold a passport from another EU member state and with more than 10% third-country nationals, offers an ideal natural experiment to study the impact of mobility on language use. Research based on language surveys (Janssens, 2013) shows a growing use of English on the workfloor, although mainly in combination with Brussels' official languages, French and Dutch. This is in line with earlier research that suggests that in local companies actual practices are highly multilingual (see Berthoud, Grin & Lüdi 2013). Language use in other domains confirms this trend. Where almost 90% of the people living in Brussels claim to be fluent in French, in everyday language use there is a clear shift towards multilingualism. Flexible use of various languages with frequent recourse to code-switching is common, and receptive knowledge of languages is gaining ground.

Illustration and evidence

Brussels is officially bilingual, with French as the majority and Dutch as the minority language. Changes in proficiency in English compared with the two official languages are presented in Table 1. The figures are based on self-reported knowledge and refer to those who speak the languages well enough in order to be able to have a conversation in that language.

For all of the above categories, knowledge of French as the local lingua franca declines over time, but so does the average knowledge of Dutch and English for the total group of non-Belgians. The position of French as Brussels' lingua franca, however, is not under threat. The fact that Dutch is maintaining its position stems from the offer of free language courses. EU mobility and immigration by third-country nationals are increasing the influence of English, but overall only a third of the population feel comfortable using the language. Remarkably, although average proficiency in English has hardly changed, it is being used much more. Fluency in a language seems not to be a sufficient condition to speak it if it is the degree of openness of society towards multilingualism that seems to be the determining factor.

The effect of the above changes on actual language use on the work floor and at the local shop, restricted to the use of the three contact languages and their combinations, is shown in Table 2.

The changes in both areas are similar; monolingual communication is increasingly being replaced by multilingual practices, and English is not displacing the local languages.

Policy implications

The example of Brussels illustrates the complexity of language use. A “free” language market, in combination with growing mobility, results in increasingly multilingual practices on the ground. The discourse portraying English as the new European lingua franca must therefore be put into perspective. A majority of residents are not fluent in English, and mobility does not go hand-in-hand with the replacement of the local languages by English, but with growing multilingualism.

Local policymakers can influence this evolution. Language legislation, educational policy, and integration policy with regard to newcomers can support the local languages and, at the same time, create openness to multilingualism. This supports the hypothesis that in a highly diverse urban context communication among residents, and consequently inclusion in the community, is not based on the use of a lingua franca, but rather on multilingualism.

Mobility is not necessarily a threat to the local languages of host country, even minority languages.

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Language proficiency in ▼	Belgian		EU		Non-EU	
	2001	2013	2001	2013	2001	2013
French	98.8%	93.2%	92.1%	73.9%	73.9%	66.4%
Dutch	39.1%	26.9%	4.6%	11.8%	7.4%	5.3%
English	33.2%	28.7%	53.9%	47.1%	12.1%	22.1%
None of the above	0.6%	4.3%	0.7%	15.2%	23.7%	28.5%
% Population	72.7%	66.9%	14.8%	22.9%	12.5%	10.2%

Table 1. Changes in language proficiency by nationality
(Source: Janssens 2013).

Language(s) mainly spoken ▼	Work floor		Local shop		TB3
	2001	2013	2001	2013	
French	73.3%	32.2%	88.4%	59.9%	
Dutch	4.3%	1.7%	2.7%	1.0%	
English	4.8%	1.7%	0.1%	0.5%	
French / Dutch	10.6%	16.7%	6.0%	15.0%	
French / English	2.4%	17.0%	0.8%	4.0%	
Dutch / English	0.3%	-	0.1%	-	
French / Dutch / English	3.5%	30.7%	0.1%	19.3%	
Other languages	0.8%	0.2%	1.7%	0.4%	

Table 2. Language use on the work floor and while shopping
(Source: Janssens, 2013).

38 Can EU policy improve social inclusion in local urban contexts?

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Freedom of movement and residence for EU nationals is one of the fundamental rights arising from EU citizenship. The implementation of this principle involves a complex policy embracing issues such as social security, access to public services, taxation, employment, recognition of diplomas, and the rights of family members. Converting European directives into legislation is a multifaceted and time-consuming process at the level of member states. Dealing with the linguistic impact of mobility at the local level is even more complex, given that individual national contexts are mainly based on the linguistic homogeneity of the nation state, whereas the European project is based on a principle of support for linguistic diversity. What tools does the EU offer to local policy-makers in order to deal with the language-related aspects of inclusion?

What does research tell us?

European citizenship divides groups of newcomers into EU-citizens and third-country nationals, each with different rights and obligations in the various host countries. This results in different, sometimes conflicting, language policies from the point of view of the EU and the nation states. EU policy towards migration (European Commission, 2014) puts the emphasis on introductory and language courses to obtain a strong commitment to the host society. In order to support the mobility of EU citizens in a context of multilingualism, language learning, teacher and student mobility, as well as translation initiatives, are supported (Franke & Mennella, 2017).

This difference is reflected in local policies. A comparative study between different diverse European cities confirms the different approach at local level (Ernst & Young, 2014).

The overall strategic frameworks are essentially oriented towards non-EU migration seen as a long-term phenomenon, while selected policies are specifically addressed at favouring EU mobile citizens with regard to different forms of short-term mobility, mainly related to employment and study. Nevertheless, there is a clear tendency in all cities to rely on services and institutions dealing with all foreigners or with all citizens rather than providing separate services to EU mobile citizens. EU mobile citizens are often not considered as a target group, although language knowledge is recognised as one of the main barriers to inclusion in the host societies. Where the EU stresses a policy supporting the organisation of language courses for third-country nationals, EU law restricts the possibility of imposing language requirements on service providers from other member states, such as lawyers, doctors and nurses. Applying a language test to residents who come from other EU countries is even excluded (see van der Jeught, 2015).

Whereas mandatory language courses for adult EU citizens are not legal, it is a different matter for school children who are attending school under the same condition as nationals. Children with an EU citizenship moving to another EU country are entitled, under EU law, to receive free language tuition in the new home country to help them adapt to the school system (Directive 77/486/EE). Whereas there is plenty of research on the performances of EU students in higher education in other member states, less research is done on the impacts of intra-EU migration of children in primary and secondary education.

Apart from fluency in the language of instruction, Heath et al. (2008) conclude that socio-economic resources and parental educational attainment are crucial factors in school success, although there are no differences according to the nationality of the pupil, whether the children have citizenship of an EU country or not.

Illustration and evidence

The table below presents the particular example of Brussels and changes in the language proficiency of the residents with a non-Belgian nationality, who did not speak one of the official languages as a home language. None of the migrants were required to take compulsory language courses.

A “free” or unconstrained language policy does not lead to a higher degree of social inclusion in terms of fluency in the local language(s). Given the fact that, all over the EU, the majority of non-nationals are concentrated in cities, this may be problematic.

Policy implications

Notwithstanding the principle of subsidiarity, designing a general cross-European approach emphasising language learning among mobile adults would be highly useful.

In the light of social inclusion, the distinction between EU citizens and third-country nationals is counterproductive and both should be part of an integrated local policy. The same is true for language learning in compulsory education. Initiatives like the ‘Handbook on Integration for policy-makers and practitioners’ (2010), an exploration of useful practices aimed at the social inclusion of migrants, should also be extended to EU nationals and new building blocks for inclusion should be developed.

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Languages ▼	Survey 2001		Survey 2007		Survey 2013	
	EU	Non-EU	EU	Non-EU	EU	Non-EU
French	78.8%	65.2%	77.5%	66.2%	55.8%	54.3%
Dutch	0.7%	0.9%	0.6%	-	3.9%	-
Bilingual	7.3%	5.0%	6.2%	2.7%	5.4%	4.6%
None	13.2%	29.0%	15.7%	31.1%	34.9%	41.1%

Self-reported knowledge (‘good’ or ‘excellent’) on oral language proficiency of non-native speakers of French and Dutch with a non-Belgian nationality in Brussels (Source: Janssens, 2013)

39 How do language integration policies for foreigners reflect majority preferences and attitudes?

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The language policies of European nation states typically have to deal with four types of languages, resulting in a hierarchy of recognition and rights between languages. For example, and although the concept of “minority” has not been authoritatively defined in international law, states generally differentiate between traditional (autochthonous/long-standing) minorities and those which have resulted from more recent migration. This distinction is also manifested in the restriction, in some UN documents, of the notion of “minority” to the citizens of a state. Does this hierarchy, which expresses power relations, reflect majority opinion? Is there any social consensus over the need to encourage the learning of the local language by foreign residents?

What does research tell us?

First, all states adopt, formally or informally, at least one official or state language. While the choice is typically driven by a sense of special legitimacy relative to other languages, it also proceeds from the practical needs of administration and government. Second, many states grant some degree of recognition to the language spoken by traditional minorities on their soil; this is materialised in a great variety of different regimes;¹ this (sometimes sincere, sometimes grudging) recognition is typically considered legitimate because of those minorities’ longstanding historical presence. Third, as a result of the freedom of movement enjoyed by the citizens of EU member states, states have begun to incur new responsibilities towards the languages of other EU member states, in particular with regard to the education of the children of internal EU migrants; however, EU citizens are generally exempted from any *general* language learning requirements (although the right to practise some professions is formally conditional on a certain level of proficiency in the official language).

Fourth, European states are confronted with the languages of third-country nationals; states’ obligations regarding those languages are limited, and where states do assume obligations, in areas such as health care, asylum proceedings and court proceedings, they are usually informed by human rights considerations; provisions regarding education are weaker and mainly derived from international conventions. They are binding, but only on those states that have ratified them.² At the same time, several states have introduced language tests for third-country nationals who wish to settle on their soil or acquire citizenship.

Research in anthropology and social psychology consistently reports the weight, in opinion surveys, of a distinction between the in-group and the out-group, or between “us” and “them”. This fact alone does not have normative implications, since openness towards the linguistic and cultural “other” is generally seen as a principle that should inspire social interaction and guide public policy. Moreover, the sharpness of this distinction itself may owe much to ill-intentioned political manipulation. However, because such attitudes appear to be a persistent sociological fact, they are part of the context within which policy is formulated and implemented.

Illustration and evidence

Although the “us and them” distinction regularly resurfaces in attitude surveys, the data is rarely precise enough to allow the investigation of majority respondents’ expectations regarding the linguistic integration of “allophones” (that is, speakers of other languages).

However, a near-exhaustive and highly detailed survey of over 40,000 young Swiss men reporting for military service in Switzerland (plus a representative sample of 1,500 young Swiss women) reveals a widespread expectation that allophones learn the local language (see table).

Policy implications

Assuming that the attitudes of young respondents are indicative of those among the population at large, the above results suggest a general endorsement of the notion that the choice to exercise one's right to be mobile and settle elsewhere entails a degree of linguistic adaptation. Importantly, as shown by additional items not reported here, this opinion does not imply an expectation that immigrants should give up their linguistic and cultural heritage. The expectation of local language learning also extends to "Americans" (pointing to "expats" in general, that is, foreigners who do not have the archetypal "migrant" profile). These results converge with the notion that mobility and inclusion must balance each other, and that policies which attempt to strike a balance between them will normally enjoy public support.

1. See states' ratifications instrument when acceding to the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* ▶ www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/148/declarations?p_auth=adpW1NPI.
2. See entries 29 and 31 in this Vademecum.

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Mean value of agreement with statements regarding the linguistic integration of migrants, 2008–2009, by increasing degree of agreement (source: Grin et al., 2015)

Mean value of agreement with statements regarding the linguistic integration of migrants, 2008–2009, by increasing degree of agreement (source: Grin et al., 2015)	Degree of agreement (1 to 4 scale)	
	men	women
Low agreement		
"School programmes should include language courses in Portuguese, Albanian, Turkish etc., for pupils of the corresponding mother tongue"	1.82	1.90
"It should be possible to take the written part of the driving licence exam in the main immigration languages (e.g. Spanish, Serbo-Croatian, Turkish, etc.)"	1.87	2.10
Average agreement		
"It's a good thing to be able to hear foreign languages in the street, in public transport, etc."	2.49	2.85
"It is not acceptable for foreign colleagues to speak among themselves in a foreign language in front of Swiss colleagues"	2.72	2.73
"If the sign on a Chinese shop in a Swiss city is in Chinese, it must also be in French, German or Italian (depending on region)"	2.80	2.76
Strong agreement		
"Foreigners living in Switzerland shouldn't expect the federal or local administration to address them in their own language"	3.36	3.32
"Americans settling in Switzerland must learn the language of their new home"	3.47	3.67
"It is indispensable for migrants to learn the local language"	3.52	3.68

40 Should municipalities regulate language use in public space?

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Because of the social and political nature of language, the presence and visibility of languages is an important aspect of multilingualism. When discussing language policy (which aims at regulating multilingualism), it is often convenient to make a distinction between three domains of language use:

- ▶ the statal space, which refers to the use of language(s) by state institutions, whether internally or in interaction with citizens and residents;
- ▶ the public space, which includes the use of language(s) by businesses or non-profit organisations;
- ▶ the private space, which of course includes language use in private premises like a home, but also a private conversation between two friends.

As the description of these domains suggests, they overlap. Is a schoolyard a public space or a statal space (when the state is organising public education)? And is a private conversation still private when friends are taking a walk in a city park and can be heard by passers-by?

While rules for formal communication can be easily justified, and individual freedom should prevail in the private domain, language use in the public space is often contested. In the public space, the local language(s) generally dominate(s) – sometimes due to stringent policies making the use of the local language compulsory for commercial signs and advertising. In addition, English is increasingly used in many European but traditionally non-English speaking countries for commercial purposes, either to address tourists or to evoke a global brand. As a result, the deep linguistic diversity of many local contexts is invisible and sometimes even inaudible in the public space.

What does research tell us?

The use of specific languages in linguistic landscapes is disputed when language groups compete over territory (Gorter 2006, Shohamy & Gorter 2008). The discussion about road signs in bilingual regions, ranging from the very presence of the two languages to the order in which they are indicated on the sign and the size of the fonts used, as well as the physical position on a road sign (which one is on top) and the use of different font sizes, are perceived as an indication of hierarchies between languages. When the dispute is fierce and the political conflict open, vandalism is not uncommon: signs are removed or destroyed; graffiti is used to eliminate the linguistic version one judges inappropriate or to add a linguistic version deemed missing.

Illustration and evidence

Signs in multilingual cities are less disputed. Official signs are rarely multilingual. The street signs in Dutch and Chinese in a few Amsterdam streets to promote a local Chinatown for touristic purposes are not controversial (they might have been if the neighbourhood was an ethnic one and the concentration of Chinese immigrants was perceived as a societal problem; their main purpose then would have been to accommodate migrants' needs). When national and/or local states also regulate language use in commercial signs, it is generally to make sure that the national language is not displaced by another or to roll back such displacement (Flanders, Quebec, Catalonia, Wales, etc.). In the 1990s the Loi Toubon made the translation into French of English slogans on billboards compulsory. In rare cases, such as the periphery of Brussels in Flanders (known as the Vlaamse Rand) the territorial principle of the Belgian federal arrangement is strictly applied to curtail the displacement of Dutch by French.

This attitude is motivated by concerns that a French-speaking middle-class, as well as relatively affluent foreigners often described as “expats”, are moving into the Flemish municipalities and changing their linguistic composition. Moreover the use of French by the Mayor and the aldermen during municipal council meetings is prohibited. In other places, the use of other languages in electoral rallies or for electoral pamphlets is not formally regulated but heavily contested as in the use of Turkish by the Labour Party and the GreenLeft Party in Dutch municipal elections in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Leiden (while the use of English by the Conservative Party in Amsterdam was not even noted). Finally (public) schools (in Flanders again) have been reported for prohibiting the use of home languages in the schoolyard – to encourage the acquisition of the official school language, but *de facto* marginalising linguistic diversity and multilingual students.

Policy implications

The discussions above illustrate the dilemma: the use of a language in the public space testifies that one feels entitled to use it and feels “in one’s place”. This can foster in-group social relations and various forms of inclusion, but at the same time it can hamper individual interactions with non-group members and inclusion in society at large, and deepen divisions between groups using different languages.



The “Practise your Dutch here” campaign in the Vlaamse Rand has been complemented by “a week of the allophone customer” in an attempt to make it more inclusive. Here is a poster by the municipality of Zaventem. At the same time billboards to welcome tourists in English after the 2016 Brussels bombings seem to be less problematic as signs in French (the second national language is not used on road signs in Flanders).

Likewise, the exclusion of one’s home language from the public domain may prompt feelings of being “out of place” and hamper social inclusion, but may encourage individuals to appropriate the local language and in the long run feel more integrated in the local community. Moreover, room for new languages to accommodate newcomers in local politics, for example (French in municipal councils in the Vlaamse Rand, German in the Balearic islands, English in Amsterdam) may threaten the linguistic identity of the area in the eyes of long term residents (and may even be prohibited by existing language rules).

Where national laws and/or regulations about language use in public exist, additional local policies may complement them by adapting them to the local situation. In any case, outlawing some languages or imposing others are two extremes that will definitely not foster social cohesion. Local authorities need to develop a nuanced policy, sensitive to the specificities of the local linguistic environment and the complexity of multi-layered cohesion. Choosing bilingual or multilingual official streets signs over monolingual ones and/or encouraging the use of bilingual or multilingual signs in public space could be such a middle way. In any event, local authorities should make sure to create support among residents for their policies. The increased visibility of new languages may foster a feeling of inclusion among some residents, but at the same time, it can be perceived as a loss of status by other residents whose language has to make room for other languages.

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Language
education,
teaching,
and
learning

41 How can inclusive school systems best manage linguistic diversity?

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“Inclusive schooling” generally means ensuring that all children, regardless of gender, class, ethnicity, able-bodiedness and other characteristics, can benefit in roughly equal measure from the skills and knowledge made available in the school setting. The Council of the EU has committed to this goal in numerous policy statements, and it has become a cornerstone of national education policies in most member countries (EADSNE, 2011). Arguably, it is one of the most cost-effective means of addressing the many problems linked to social exclusion (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2016). Language is one of the important differences that need to be addressed in an inclusive school system. In this context, “inclusion” means *both* providing all students with access to the national language or languages, *and* ensuring that all students, along with their families, feel included and can achieve success regardless of linguistic background – in MIME terms, reconciling inclusion *and* mobility. What policy conditions would best encourage and help a school system to operate in this way?

What does research tell us?

A wide variety of reports from agencies such as the OECD and the *European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education*, as well as independent projects such as the *Migrant Integration Policy Index*, indicate that compulsory school systems in the EU score low on various aspects of linguistic inclusion, given the definition of inclusion applied by these agencies. As a rule, national education policies envisage a single major language of instruction in all years, and restrict or discourage the use of other languages by teachers and students. This has traditionally been seen as a route to social inclusion by emphasizing access to a politically and economically dominant language.

However, under conditions of increasing mobility the limitations of this approach are increasingly evident: learners from other linguistic backgrounds not only face short-term barriers to classroom learning and socialisation, but overall receive fewer benefits from their schooling in terms of social integration, employment prospects, and access to further education (OECD, 2015).

The focus of the MIME research has been on identifying key components of more inclusive models of schooling that could substantially reduce these short- and long-term costs and thereby improve the trade-off between inclusion and mobility for European societies in general. The underlying philosophy is one of capacity-building at the level of local schools and school systems, and addressing linguistic diversity in the context of broader policy frameworks for educational and social inclusion.

Illustration and evidence

An example of a macro-level language policy response to the inclusive education mandate is the Swedish guarantee of first-language instruction for students with another home language, coupled with a second guarantee of tuition in Swedish as a second language where needed, making it possible for integration to take place in Swedish. The consequence is that every Swedish school must be prepared to assess student needs, recruit suitable teachers, and schedule class time in order to better accommodate migrant and minority students. However, there are significant limitations in the local implementation of the policy (Cabau, 2014), indicating that a multi-level policy approach is required.

An example of a meso-level policy approach to inclusive schooling is to be found in the *Catalan Local Educational Plans (plans educatius d'entorn)*, which were introduced in the year 2004 and which have since been developed by 88 municipalities in Catalonia. However, the Catalan framework makes only limited reference to languages other than Catalan and Spanish, within “a framework of respect and appreciation of linguistic diversity.” A more far-reaching approach would address a wider range of activities in students’ home languages, spanning formal, non-formal and informal education. Micro-level interventions at the level of classroom practice have been studied in the academic literature. The consensus is that the single most important contribution to improvements at this level lies in effective initial and ongoing teacher education for inclusion; this applies equally to the linguistic dimensions of inclusive education.

MOTHER TONGUE INSTRUCTION IN SWEDEN

	Eligible for		Participating in	
	Number	%	Number	%
Total	250,399	25.4	140,959	56.3
Arabic	52,822	5.4	34,664	65.6
Somali	20,026	2.0	15,096	75.4
English	15,506	1.6	8,075	52.1
Bosnian/ Croatian/ Serbian	15,360	1.6	7,946	51.7
Persian (Farsi)	13,172	1.3	7 360	55.9
Spanish	13,011	1.3	6,781	52.1
Kurdish	11,750	1.2	6,622	56.4
Finnish	8,900	0.9	4,256	47.8
Albanian	8,516	0.9	5,273	61.9
Polish	8,309	0.8	4,952	59.6
Others (142)	83,027	8.4	39,934	48.1

Successful initiatives include recruiting and supporting teachers from minority backgrounds, mandating specific content in initial teacher education programmes, requiring that teacher candidates acquire experience in diverse school settings, providing effective programmes for in-service teacher development, and increasing the capacity of schools to support teachers and learners by hiring professionals with specialised knowledge and skills (EADSNE, 2011).

Policy implications

An optimal language policy framework, in the context of inclusive schooling, would address at least the following three areas in an integrated way:

- **Macro:** Clear, universal mandates, backed up by funding guarantees, to ensure access to the national language while offering recognition of and instruction in home languages, with implementation delegated to more local levels of school administration;
- **Meso:** Engagement of local/municipal governments, school districts, community organisations, etc. in developing local education plans to meet these macro-level linguistic mandates, ensuring their integration with other measures for social inclusion;
- **Micro:** A clear set of requirements for all accredited teacher training programmes that specify the development of teacher abilities for addressing linguistic difference, while allowing for different approaches to programme design.

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42 How can non-formal and informal learning networks be harnessed in support of multilingualism?

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In current approaches to adult education, the European Union emphasizes policies centred on “the autonomous learner.” Yet most people in mobility are not truly “autonomous” – they rely on the support of a variety of social and institutional networks, most often aligned with languages and cultures that already form part of their repertoire. Furthermore, the social nature of language means that new varieties are only effectively acquired when the learner succeeds in using them to access new networks – a key aspect of the development of a multilingual identity. Policy frameworks thus need to respond to the ways in which people in mobility actually organise and perceive themselves, and look for partnerships across formal, non-formal and informal learning contexts.

What does research tell us?

Studies such as the recent OECD reports *Immigrant Students at School* (2015) and *Recruiting Immigrant Workers* (2016) make a strong case for multilingualism in the context of social integration. Encouraging people in mobility to maintain their heritage languages through participation in informal networks, at the same time as they are developing new language skills in the host society, can improve their learning capacity, employability and understanding of other cultures.

However, the nature of the non-formal and informal networks accessible to adult learners varies significantly among EU member states (see figure and Cedefop, 2009), and indeed from place to place and community to community within a given state. Such networks evolve largely in response to local perceptions of need and opportunity, rather than in the context of national or European policy.

This means that the resources available for supporting and encouraging linguistic integration are highly diverse and embedded within local cultures and traditions.

Illustration and evidence

Field research for the MIME project illustrates some of the ways in which non-formal/informal language learning networks can complement formal pathways of education.

Interviews with students taking part in “summer universities” organised by the AEGEE (Association des États Généraux des Étudiants de l’Europe) show how a non-formal learning network can acquire a distinctive culture of multilingualism: in this case, positive attitudes towards language learning and language diversity, an emphasis on the value of informal language contact, and frequent reliance on imperfect English for practical purposes. While longitudinal data are not available, we suspect these features are quite stable and readily transmitted to new members of the network.

Very different kinds of learning network are illustrated by our study conducted among migrants from the former Yugoslavia in South Tyrol. Participants represented the acquisition of Italian and German as typically occurring in different places and in different ways: Italian mostly in informal settings, German through language courses. These patterns appeared to be connected to common opinions about the languages and their speakers. Participants expressed a sense of Italian being more accessible than German, and appeared to feel more comfortable speaking languages which they had acquired mostly or also in informal settings.

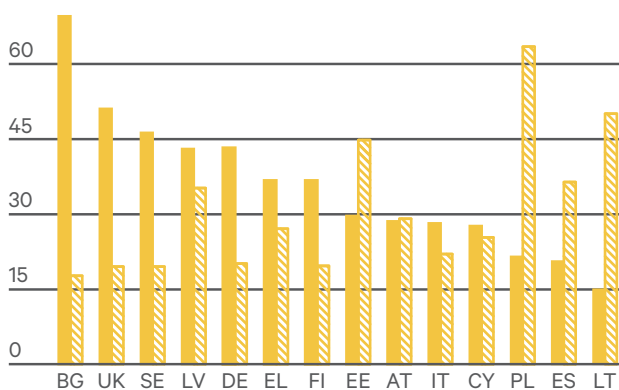
As in the AEGEE study, there thus seemed to be consistent language-related beliefs and attitudes present in these social networks, which in some ways were poorly matched with the language learning opportunities on offer.

Focus group conversations conducted in Vaasa, Finland, with successful professionals from outside Scandinavia likewise uncovered a common set of attitudes and beliefs about learning the local languages. All participants saw Finnish as a very heavy, challenging, and unrewarding language, connected to the stereotype of the traditional, conservative Finnish citizen; in contrast, Swedish was perceived as a much closer, easier and more satisfying language to learn, while the Swedish speaking citizens of Vaasa were considered to be more beautiful, successful, attractive, and open-minded. These attitudes were coupled with choices of what language to learn in formal, non-formal and informal contexts. Also noteworthy, and extending to the other case studies as well, was a general lack of interest in improving English language skills beyond those sufficient for everyday communication.

SECTORS INVOLVED IN NON-FORMAL EDUCATION, ACCORDING TO THE ADULT EDUCATION SURVEY

(source: Cedefop, 2009)

■ by employers ▨ by education and training institutions



Policy implications

Support for adult language learning usually operates through the provision of courses, or other learning opportunities, in languages selected through a top-down process. The evidence shows, however, that regardless of where these opportunities are located (schools, government centres, libraries, employers, citizen associations, etc.), local social networks play a key role in determining how they are taken up. Resources may be allocated more efficiently, and with greater long-term impact on linguistic inclusion, if migrants and other people in mobility are directly involved in programme design and delivery. This may include initiatives to change how particular languages and cultures are perceived, within both migrant and host communities. Measures to validate language competences acquired through non-formal and informal learning may be one important way of increasing motivations and improving perceptions of the relevance and rewards of such efforts.

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43 How can mobility and inclusion be fostered through multilingualism in higher education (HE)?

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In Higher Education (HE), languages are usually used in separate situations and in what might be called a segregated way. This may be observed in teaching/learning, research and governance, even in bilingual or trilingual universities. Separation between languages is detrimental to mobility and inclusion. However, higher education institutions (HEIs) may develop innovative policies aimed at fostering mobility and guaranteeing inclusion at the same time. The general idea is to encourage students, researchers and administrative staff to better manage, develop, and utilise the various languages in their repertoire.

What does research tell us?

Some recent theories assume that competences in different languages are not separate systems, but rather they are a unique integrated system, also called multilingual competence. Individuals have to manage the knowledge of different languages according to the communicative context (e.g. by inhibiting some languages and using those that are needed in a given situation). This has been conceptualised, in the MAGICC project, as “an individual’s communicative and interactive repertoire, made up of several languages and language varieties including first language(s) at different levels of proficiency, and various types of competence, which are all interrelated. The repertoire in its entirety represents a resource enabling action in diverse use situations. It evolves across time and experience throughout life and includes growth in intercultural awareness and ability to cope with, and participate in, multicultural contexts of academic study and working life” (MAGICC Conceptual Framework 2013: 5).

If we consider that “the lack of language competences is one of the main barriers to participation in European education, training and youth programmes” (Erasmus+ Programme Guide 2017: 9)¹, we can easily infer that the ability to use one’s entire linguistic repertoire and to develop one’s multilingual competence constitutes added value for students, researchers and staff. It can help them gain greater motivation and participate in mobility programmes with greater ease. In addition, they acquire useful professional skills. The development of multilingual competence by HE actors can support and enhance their personal, academic and professional achievements, thus improving their potential mobility. At the same time, a wide use of linguistic repertoires in HE can facilitate linguistic inclusion. The ability to use the various linguistic repertoires of students, researchers and staff makes the linguistic environment in HE open to receiving and accepting linguistic diversity. In this sense, use and development of multilingual competence is an appropriate response to the trade-off between mobility and inclusion which helps to resolve the tension between them.

Illustration and evidence

In HE, multilingual competence can be fostered in several ways. The studies carried out in the MAGICC project² provide relevant and practical tools which offer an international set of categories for describing and assessing multilingual and multicultural competence.

A case study in a classroom at the University of Algarve, Portugal, provides an example of how multilingual competence can be promoted and how it can help resolve the trade-off between mobility and inclusion.

The study concerns *Language and Communication Policies*, a BA-level course. Participants in this course are both local students and Erasmus students coming from very diverse linguistic backgrounds. The instructor allows participants to speak their preferred language (on the condition that he understands it or that it can be translated into various languages so that everyone can understand it). The course material includes scientific texts in English that are read, analysed, and discussed in different languages. Various components of students' individual repertoires are involved, and a co-learning environment emerges from the collective repertoire of the classroom. As a result, many languages are used in this course, including Portuguese, English, French, Italian and Spanish.

Furthermore, students were expected to give a final talk using three languages chosen by them: one language for the PowerPoint presentation, one language for the oral presentation, and one language for answering the instructor's and students' questions. This kind of task is a creative but also structured method for developing multilingual competence.

This final task and the use of many of the students' linguistic repertoires during the course, also associated with the use of texts in English, led to a series of metalinguistic reflections about contents and related linguistic issues.

It allowed greater fairness in the classroom, also permitting greater inclusion of all participants, either local or from abroad.

Policy implications

Given the multilingual context in which HE is embedded, there are various reasons for promoting multilingual competence. It enhances mobility and facilitates entry into a multilingual professional world; at the same time, it helps develop a greater awareness and acceptance of existing linguistic diversity.

Policies promoting multilingual competence may be implemented by individual instructors (as in the case study mentioned above). It may also be promoted at an institutional level, for example through multilingual and multicultural courses open to the entire university community. One example is provided by courses on *Communication training in multilingual settings* at the University of Basel, Switzerland (Gekeler et al. 2013), and on *Multilingual interaction. Use Your Languages* at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland (Kyppö et al. 2015).

1. Erasmus+ Programme Guide. Version 3 (2017).
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LANGUAGES USED IN THE CLASSROOM DURING THE COURSE

	Languages used in writing (whiteboard or slide presentation)	Languages used orally
Instructor	English French Portuguese	English French Portuguese
Students	English French Portuguese	English French Italian Portuguese Spanish

44 How can we help exchange students learn the languages of their host countries?

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Exchange programmes offer students the opportunity to stay abroad for an extended time. It is often the first such opportunity of their lives, and can prove particularly valuable in Europe, where language proficiency is a key factor in ensuring mobility and inclusion. When students have no prior knowledge of the language of their host country, however, such exchanges are too short to guarantee adequate learning of the language. While the use of English mitigates most problems with respect to mobility, it can hinder inclusion both at the university and in everyday life, except when individual students are particularly perseverant in learning the local language.

What does research tell us?

A study by the Leipzig MIME team has explored language use by about 500 exchange students, participating in exchanges to and from Germany (Brosch 2017). It suggests that countries with popular languages, especially English and French, perform very well in raising linguistic proficiency and fostering inclusion for guest students, while the results for other countries, especially those with less prestigious languages, vary significantly.

Our research suggests that the majority of exchange students are interested in learning the language of the host country, but have limited opportunities to do so in the case of so-called “small” languages. This is an indication that projects like the Erasmus+ programme have not yet reached their full potential in supporting multilingualism. Exchange students, including those who spend their Erasmus+ terms in linguistically smaller countries, where the language of instruction is usually English, are interested in learning the local language (figure on the opposite page).

Illustration and evidence

In practice, students often run into obstacles. Due to a lack of language courses they cannot start learning the host language prior to the exchange, and during their stay adequate courses are rarely provided. Common accommodation, lectures and recreational events leave students spending most of their time with other exchange students.

Most information they receive before or during their stays is in English only.

The participants in our study frequently complained of a lack of contact with local students and the local population due to the language barrier, as well as to an inadequate degree of organisation of the exchange programmes:

“I had imagined it differently, to what extent I would master Hungarian at the end of my stay. I had actually intended – considered whether I should take a more intensive course, but in fact there wasn’t one, and I could only do the basics course [...] It was rather bad.”

“There’s quite some pre-sorting. There is an Erasmus course catalogue and a university course catalogue. And it’s quite limited, what you can and cannot select. [...] I find it stupid, above all in the overall context, because I’m living in student housing here’, and they do it exactly the same way here.” [i.e. they accommodate Erasmus+ students separately from local students]

As a consequence, some students ended up associating only with a small circle of other exchange students during the entirety of their stays, acquiring only minimal knowledge of the local language. This prevented them from making the most of their stays.

Policy implications

It is advisable to give the students more opportunities not only to study the language of the host country but also, and most importantly, to use the language. Therefore, it is inadvisable to organise the studies of incoming students in a manner that allows them to rely only on English throughout the exchange. While students should never be compelled to learn a certain language, there should be a measurable benefit from speaking the local language.

Some specific policy guidelines are as follows.

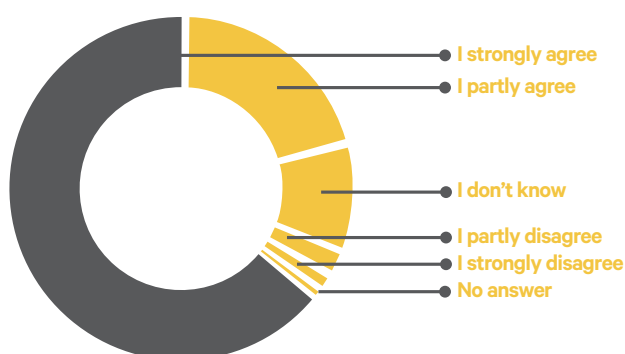
1. The home universities of exchange students should, to the extent possible, give more incentives and opportunities to their students to learn so-called “small” languages by providing courses in the local languages of their partner universities and by offering credit-bearing language courses before and during the exchange.
2. Erasmus+ coordinators should make learning the local language a top priority for a student’s stay. Examples of good practice, such as language awareness diaries and Tandem learning, should be used more widely.
3. The Erasmus+ online tests and courses should include the languages of all participating countries in order to give students an opportunity to start learning the local language before the exchange.
4. Host universities should put more effort into avoiding the segregation of exchange students from the local population. Administrative bodies at universities should not offer their services in English as the sole or default language, but also in the local languages to encourage Erasmus students to use them.

Host universities should put more effort into avoiding the segregation of exchange students from the local population. Administrative bodies at universities should not offer their services in English as the sole or default language, but also in the local languages to encourage Erasmus students to use them.

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“LEARNING THE LANGUAGE IS AN IMPORTANT INCENTIVE FOR MY STAY ABROAD.”



45 How can education systems respond to the dynamics of linguistically complex regions?

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The linguistic landscape of Europe shows an amazing degree of variation due to historical, political, social and economic circumstances – not only from one state to another, but also within states. This makes the design of policies for inclusion more challenging, since it is necessary to consider not only the political and cultural traditions of the state as a whole, but also local and regional differences, as well as ongoing developments due to differential patterns of both immigration and emigration.

What does research tell us?

Three kinds of difference have a great potential impact. The first is the range of language variation. When most people speak a language from the same linguistic family, it fosters the possibility of intercomprehension (e.g. in Scandinavia or the Western Slavonic linguistic space). This generally lowers the overall costs of multilingualism. Secondly, an existing state or regional tradition of multilingualism is an important factor in influencing residents' attitudes towards code mixing and acquisition of the region's languages (Iannàccaro 2010), as well as mobile people's relationships with their original and newly acquired repertoires. Thirdly, the different demographic composition of urban and rural settings (including detailed local settlement patterns, e.g. concentration of migrants in particular neighbourhoods) plays a major role in linguistic integration. These three factors are clearly visible in the research carried out for MIME.

Illustration and evidence

In a case study of Andorra, we found that migrant Portuguese workers mainly rely on their mother tongue and intercomprehension strategies while in contact with Spanish, Catalan and French speakers. However, prevailing social attitudes towards these different languages vary significantly, influenced by the political and social situation. Catalan, as the sole official language, is associated with upward mobility; French is seen as a language of educational attainment that, like Catalan, is indigenous to Andorra; Spanish is perceived as an “intruder” language to be tolerated in non-official settings; Portuguese is regarded as foreign and associated with lack of social mobility. These attitudes act as a barrier to the success and spread of intercomprehension strategies, particularly between Portuguese, Spanish and Catalan. Meanwhile, official Andorran language policy offers little space to recognise language diversity. As a consequence, despite constituting up to 16% of the population, Portuguese mobile workers and their families express resentment at perceived inequality of treatment.

In another case study, we collected the linguistic biographies of migrants from the former Yugoslavia currently living in the officially bilingual Italian province of Bolzano/Bozen (South Tyrol). In this case migration has taken place across borders between different linguistic families (the traditional languages of South Tyrol include Ladin, High German, Germanic dialects and Italian, while the ex-Yugoslavia immigrants speak Serbian/Bosnian, Albanian and Romanian).

The linguistic patterns associated with integration vary according to the language repertoires migrants bring with them (monolingual, minority bilingual, etc.) and the target hosting community. In South Tyrol the German community, given its native multilingualism and its more favourable attitudes to linguistic differences, is more relaxed than the Italian one in accepting substandard forms and incomplete stages of language acquisition; however, for full integration both High German and the Germanic dialects are required. For those who are more oriented toward the Italian group, the acquisition of standard Italian may suffice.

Policy implications

Educational policies must take into account the traditions and attitudes of particular regions, otherwise there may be a disconnect between what is being offered and what people are looking for. At the same time all linguistic identities and repertoires should be acknowledged as part of the diversity of society. Multilingual regions, which are often located at the borders between states, offer conditions that can pave the way to a better understanding of the dynamics of complex repertoires. This implies the adoption of education policies that:

- ▶ integrate the teaching of regional language, history, and *Landeskunde* (roughly, “culture”), encompassing neighbouring cross-border regions, for both school-aged and adult learners;

- ▶ position multilingualism as a normal situation both for autochthonous residents and for mobile populations, using each one to help understand the other;
- ▶ emphasize the cultural and educational benefits of contact between language communities and the role of minority communities as bridges between different cultural and linguistic traditions.

These recommendations amount to a call for *intercultural citizenship education* (Byram et al., 2016) that includes attention to regional and local differences as an integral component of linguistic inclusion policies.

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Stickers encouraging Catalan use in a shop in Andorra la Vella.

46 What teacher abilities are most needed in order to address language differences in inclusive schools?

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Teachers play a crucial role in translating language education policies into practice. This role is more active and complex than is often realised, requiring a diverse set of abilities that have been extensively explored in research on teacher training for inclusion (that is, the preparation of teachers for work in inclusive schools, where benefits are equally distributed among all students regardless of individual or group differences). We have drawn on this research to derive implications for teachers' role in addressing linguistic diversity in such schools, within which the conflicting demands of mobility and inclusion can be reconciled.

What does research tell us?

Studies and conferences sponsored by two major international bodies have clearly established the scope of the challenge, which requires changes in the ways teachers work at the individual, classroom, school and societal levels. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has summarised the state of the field in two key reports, *Teachers Matter* (2005) and *Educating Teachers for Diversity* (2010). Still more recently, the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) has published a series of “advocacy guides” on inclusive teacher training (Kaplan & Lewis, 2013).

In the European context, the most extensive policy-oriented project was coordinated by the European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education (EADSNE), involving expert groups of policymakers, general and specialist teacher trainers from twenty-five countries. One outcome of this work was the evidence-based *Profile of Inclusive Teachers* (EADSNE, 2012), which identified the abilities teachers require to work effectively in diverse classrooms.

Illustration and evidence

See table on the next page.

Policy implications

Teacher training programs in all member states should be asked to meet more stringent requirements with respect to the development of teacher abilities for working with linguistic differences in inclusive schools. Such abilities include a range of interrelated attitudes and beliefs, knowledge and understanding, skills and abilities that complement those identified through the body of research on teacher training for inclusion.

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➤ goo.gl/8ywS7v

Teacher abilities required to address language differences in inclusive schools.

	Attitudes and beliefs	Knowledge and understanding	Skills and abilities
<i>Valuing Learner Diversity</i>			
Conceptions of language in inclusive education	Language learning and the use of languages in teaching must be meaningful for all students	Learning and using more than one language variety is an approach for all learners, not just some who are seen as different	Critically examining one's own beliefs and attitudes towards different language varieties is a foundation for mutual respect
The teacher's view of learner linguistic difference	Students speaking multiple languages add value to schools, local communities and society	Students are a resource for learning about linguistic diversity for themselves and their peers	Skilled at learning from students about language differences and helping schools celebrate those differences
<i>Supporting All Learners</i>			
Promoting the academic, social and emotional learning for all	Has high expectations for all learners, and seeks to involve parents and families, irrespective of language background	Knowledge of multilingual development patterns and pathways, along with different models of language learning	Focus on communication, transfer of skills with home and community languages, involves parents and families in giving feedback
Effective teaching in heterogeneous classes	Responsible for the learning of all students; language differences treated as valuable resources for learning	Identifying strengths of each learner; differentiation of curriculum to include diverse languages and cultures	Works with individual learners, mixed groups; finds ways to use other languages productively in the classroom
<i>Working With Others</i>			
Working with parents and families	Respect for varied cultural-social-linguistic backgrounds; effective communication and collaboration	Understands importance of positive inter-personal skills and relationships to collaborate across language differences	Communicates effectively with diverse families, drawing on language resources in the broader community
Working with a range of other educational professionals	Values collaboration, partnerships and teamwork across and with multiple languages	Knows how teachers in inclusive classrooms can cooperate with other experts and staff to share language expertise	Builds multilingual class community as part of a wider school community; helps manage language diversity at the school level
<i>Personal Professional Development</i>			
Teachers as reflective practitioners	Working with diverse languages involves problem solving based on evidence-based practice and personal training	Knows action research methods and how to undertake problem solving, reflection and self-evaluation	Evaluates own practices and works with others to evaluate how language differences are addressed in school as a whole
Ongoing professional learning and development	Understands that continuous learning, change and development are essential in dealing with language diversity	Knows the multilingual, legal and political context; committed to developing knowledge and skills for inclusive practice	Pursues innovation and personal learning, uses colleagues and other role models as sources of learning and inspiration

47 How can informally acquired language skills best be assessed?

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Language skills assessment is a branch of the broader field of the *recognition, validation and accreditation of adult competences (RVA)* – an important focus for the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning and the OECD, and a recurring theme in EU policy statements on adult education. Like other adult abilities, language skills are often acquired informally, and assessment regimes developed for formal settings such as schools and universities may be ill-suited to use with minority and migrant populations. Progress in this area is a key to improving the trade-off between mobility and inclusion for the multilingual European citizen.

What does research tell us?

The Council of the European Union (2012) has recommended that by 2018 Member States should implement measures for the validation of skills acquired non-formally and informally, in ways that comply with the *European Qualifications Framework*. However, reports from UNESCO (Singh, 2015) and the OECD (2015, 2016) indicate that this can be a challenging process, requiring extensive adjustment of existing approaches to the conditions of increasing mobility and to the diversity of skills and knowledge involved. This holds for language: informally acquired language skills are more often than not oral ones, and rarely conform to the standards of grammatical correctness expected on written tests. In our own case studies, informants were often willing to admit that their skills in a given language were flawed, but nonetheless declared themselves to be self-confident and competent in its use. Good assessment tools and processes would be able to address both the strengths and the limitations of these repertoires.

The following image shows the relative weight of formal (grey border), non-formal (grey) and informal (yellow) language acquisition processes in a mobile lifespan. It emerges that informal language skills are acquired even at relatively later stages, i.e. normally after the age in which persons are assessed at school.

Illustration and evidence

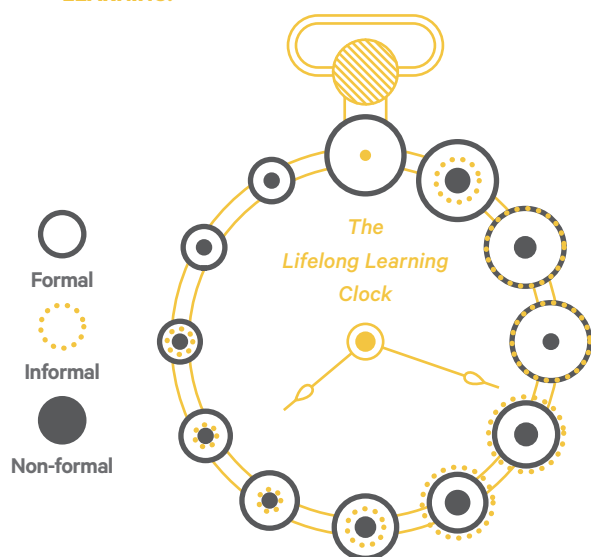
As with other aspects of linguistic inclusion, RVA has macro, meso and micro dimensions. At the macro level, the most widespread model of language assessment is the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, in which some states designate national examination centres, while others accredit a range of institutions including cultural centres and institutions of higher learning. In general, these are not the same institutions that are involved with migrant education, and the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) assessment process would be viewed as overly formal and inaccessible by many adult language learners in conditions of mobility. However, a similar model of organisation might involve migrant organisations directly in the testing of informally acquired language skills.

The meso level is key. Inclusive language assessment relies on the determination of processes and standards in the context of regional varieties of multilingualism. For example, in our Andorra case study, language proficiency standards need to refer to the differing functions of French, Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese, in order to reflect their real and potential roles in a learner's repertoire.

Assessment in such a framework can also play an educational role, expanding learners' awareness of their own linguistic attitudes, habits and capacities and their potential for growth.

At the micro level, it is necessary to define specific assessment tools and practices (Cedefop, 2015). Instead of traditional tests and examinations, which can be intimidating and not closely related to contexts of use, other methods should be employed, such as conversational (interviews), declarative (self-assessment), observation, simulation or third-party evidence. To be reliable, however, many of these require a highly skilled and experienced assessor.

THE LIFELONG LEARNING CLOCK: ONGOING RELEVANCE OF INFORMAL AND NON-FORMAL LEARNING.



More promising for wide application is informal continuous authentic assessment, which is inherently bound to the learner's problem-solving and communicative skills, and which can be documented through the use of portfolios.

Policy implications

Developing procedures, standards and organisational frameworks for inclusive language assessment is a long-term endeavour, but one with potentially large dividends. Like other steps toward inclusive multilingual education, this one is focused on building capacity at the community level. In the initial stages, experts in the field would choose appropriate validation methods and guide the validation process in collaboration with local cultural centres, migrant organisations and the like. Over time, the latter would assume control of the process. The resulting system would strengthen social integration while enhancing the transferability of informally acquired, recognised, validated and accredited language skills.

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48 Why is it advisable to combine “international orientation” with “regional location” in the language strategy of universities?

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When a regional (infra-national) orientation policy prevails in higher education (HE), the linguistic inclusion of incoming students or staff is not necessarily guaranteed, and mobility may be hampered. Indeed, an international orientation policy usually implies the use of a single lingua franca, typically English. This compromises the inclusion of people who do not speak the local language, unless it results in the creation of a localised English-speaking bubble, from which local non-speakers of English will be excluded. Thus, a policy that puts forward the successful combination of a “regional location” with an “international orientation” can constitute a response to the trade-off between mobility and inclusion.

What does research tell us?

According to the Erasmus+ Programme Guide (2017: 318)¹, internationalisation “relates to any action involving at least one Programme Country and at least one Partner Country”. In HE, however, internationalisation actually means “Englishisation”. English is now considered the “international language of science” and the “taken-for-granted lingua franca of higher education”, as discussed, for example, in Mazak and Herbas-Donoso (2015). As Phillipson (2009) points out, the dominant role of English puts non-English speakers at a disadvantage, which makes clear that there is nothing inherently scientific about the predominance of English over the use of any other language. Nonetheless, as a result of mobility, the linguistic repertoires of the student body and teaching and research staff in Higher education institutions are increasingly diverse; in terms of dealing with knowledge the use of a single lingua franca is increasingly reductive.

In this sense, the European project *IntlUni*², for example, offers results about the challenges and the opportunities of the international classroom in HE in multilingual and multicultural learning spaces (MMLS).

Internationalisation is best understood in relation to two other concepts, namely internationalisation at home and virtual mobility. In fact, “physical mobility is not an end itself; rather, it is one of the means of internationalisation” (Lauridsen et al. 2015: 14). Internationalisation at home includes the use and the development of an international curriculum and, as highlighted in Regulation (EU) No 1288/2013 (172)³, it “may not only be an alternative to physical mobility, but it can also be regarded as a preparation for later physical mobility”. As to virtual mobility, it is defined as “a set of activities supported by Information and Communication Technologies, including e-learning, that realise or facilitate international, collaborative experiences in a context of teaching, training or learning” (Erasmus+ Programme Guide 2017: 322)⁴.

Illustration and evidence

In numerical terms, the number of English Taught Programmes (ETPs) at universities across Europe has increased significantly in the last years (Wächter and Maiworm, 2014): “the numbers of identified ETPs went up from 725 programmes in 2001, to 2,389 in 2007 and to 8,089 in the present study. ETPs in Europe are predominantly offered in the second cycle (Master level). Four fifths of all programmes (80%) belong to this category. Only 20% are Bachelor programmes.” Nevertheless, only 10 to 20 per cent of European students study abroad, and 80 to 90 per cent of students are in their home country (Com (2013) 499 final: 6).

Therefore, internationalisation should be assessed not only in terms of raw student mobility, but also in terms of the nature of the processes involved, such as the internationalisation of the curriculum, assuring international/intercultural learning outcomes for all students (Leask, 2015). It is intended not as “Englishisation”, but rather as suggested in European Commission (2013, 499 final: 6) as “the integration of a global dimension in the design and content of all curricula and teaching/learning processes (sometimes called ‘internationalisation at home’), to ensure that the large majority of learners, the 80–90% who are not internationally mobile for either degree or credit mobility, are nonetheless able to acquire the international skills required in a globalised world”.

At the same time, in order to guarantee greater inclusion of mobile students, researchers or staff and “in order to fulfil their potential to successfully integrate in their host country, mobile students, researchers and teaching staff need specific support for language learning, including the opportunity to learn the local language(s), whether or not this is the language of the study course or research group” (Com (2013) 499 final: 6)⁵.

Policy implications

In order to achieve, at the same time, a local and an international orientation, Higher Education institutions should adopt strategies which, on the one hand, promote the local culture(s) and language(s), and, on the other hand, aim at fostering the international dimension of all aspects of Higher Education, as suggested in the Decision (1298/2008/EC: 96)⁶ “activities (...) such as promotion, accessibility, quality assurance, credit recognition, recognition of European qualifications abroad and mutual recognition of qualifications with third countries, curriculum development, mobility, quality of services, etc.” Strategies aimed at fostering internationalisation in Higher Education, including international curricula, associated with particular attention to the local culture(s) and language(s) may therefore represent a way to promote intercultural and multilingual education.

1. Erasmus+ Programme Guide. Version 3 (2017)
2. IntlUni – The Challenges of the Multilingual and Multicultural Learning Space in the International University.
3. Regulation (EU) No 1288/2013.
4. Erasmus+ Programme Guide. Version 3 (2017)
5. Com (2013) 499 final. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, *European higher education in the world*
6. Decision no 1298/2008/EC.

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49 How can the validation of language skills support mobility and inclusion?

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Many factors affect the decisions of internationally mobile people with respect to language learning. Each person's educational and linguistic background plays a role, as well as their attitudes and motivations with respect to the host society: are they planning to stay, are they there only for work or education, how important are local contacts and relationships, and so on? Many of these factors can be influenced by policy, however. In particular, raising language awareness, promoting learning opportunities (especially outside the formal system), and official recognition of language skills acquired in such contexts are three approaches that might encourage steps towards inclusion while supporting mobility.

What does research tell us?

In many contexts, people in mobility show insufficient awareness of the benefits of additional language learning. Lingua francas (and more generally, languages of wider communication) are frequently used instrumentally and interactionally, enabling immediate needs to be met but not allowing for deeper integration within the respective target societies. Indeed, these forms of linguistic communication are frequently used for practical communicative purposes not involving personal relations among the speakers and possibly during work hours. Several MIME case studies attest to this. For example, Portuguese workers moving to Andorra very often settle for using a commonly understood language of which they already have some knowledge (in this case Spanish) instead of learning Catalan as the local language. International white-collar workers in Vaasa, Finland, tend to be satisfied with their existing, somewhat limited competence in English, as a language of the workplace and for meeting everyday needs, rather than acquiring a good command of Swedish, let alone Finnish.

In such cases, the mobile population (namely in mobility) may develop a shared set of attitudes that limit inclusion.

At the same time, our research indicates that highly-educated, multilingual persons show more positive attitudes towards learning a new language. For example, our qualitative study on European university students enrolled in summer programmes in various countries shows that they tend to agree that English as a lingua franca did not foster cultural understanding and immersion; while they valued their command of English, they were also in favour of learning and using additional languages. The emphasis among these and other participants in the case studies was on informal and non-formal language learning, for a variety of reasons. The recognition, validation and assessment of informally acquired language skills, along with increased opportunities to acquire such skills, offers the most attractive route towards greater linguistic inclusion.

Illustration and evidence

The complexity of individuals' situations can be seen in the figure on the opposite page, which depicts the range of language varieties acquired and used by a single Serbian woman living in South Tyrol – as an example of a quantity of informants interviewed throughout our MIME field research. It may be noted that, in her experience, languages acquired at university tend to be used only in more formal settings, whereas languages acquired informally, in the home and community, have greater relevance for daily life.

It is at the intermediate policy level that such linguistic realities can be addressed – that is, the level of a region such as South Tyrol or an urban area such as Vaasa, rather than the level of a neighbourhood or of a country as a whole.

Effective linguistic integration requires partnership between schools, employers and communities in order to promote diverse routes to language learning and effective validation of non-formally/informally acquired skills. Validation can support integration into the market, school (re-)entry or simply societal inclusion. The training and employment of community members in assessment and validation of language skills would be an important contribution to this process. An important additional benefit would be to improve the assessment of children's prior linguistic skills upon admission to local schools.

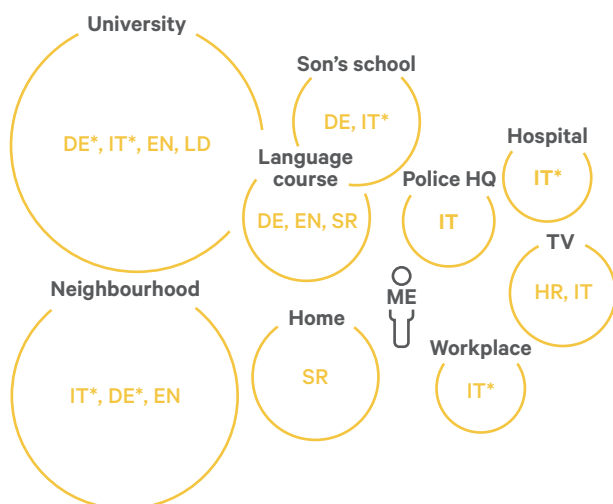
Policy implications

Among other factors, policy decision-makers have to consider beliefs about diverse languages and their speakers, which are widespread in the host society (i.e. both among newcomers and among local people).

THE LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT OF A YOUNG SERBIAN WOMAN IN SOUTH TYROL AS SEEN BY HERSELF

Mental map by Marta Lupica Spagnolo. DE: German; EN: English; HR: Croatian; IT: Italian; LD: Ladin; SR: Serbian.

* may be used in different local varieties



There is a strong need to change public perceptions in order to present plurality of languages as a desirable outcome of mobility, not hindering inclusion but rather supporting it. This suggests that, in addition to fostering the recognition and validation of language skills acquired outside the formal system, meso-level education policies should also:

- ▶ integrate the teaching of regional language, history, and culture (including neighbouring cross-border regions) for both school-aged and adult learners, in formal, non-formal and informal settings;
- ▶ position multilingualism as a normal situation both for autochthonous residents and for mobile populations, using each one to help understand the other;
- ▶ emphasize the cultural and educational benefits of contact between language communities and the role of minority communities as bridges between different cultural and linguistic traditions.

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50 How can the authorities support the maintenance of adults' foreign language skills?

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A multilingual society is one in which people with different language profiles live and work together. If proper arrangements are made, through language policy, for all language groups to enjoy adequate rights and facilities, multilingualism at the level of society does not necessarily require all individuals to be multilingual too. However, societal multilingualism tends to be smoother and more successful if a significant proportion of residents are also bi- or multilingual. Furthermore, in countries or regions where two or three languages have been present for a long time and are part of the national or regional identity, societal multilingualism works better if the effort to acquire a second or perhaps even a third language, instead of always falling on the members of one community, is balanced – that is, if members of all the historically present language groups in society make some effort to learn the language(s) of others. This, however, does not necessarily happen on its own, and some support from the state is needed. Typically, the ministry of education of a bilingual state or region will make the learning of another local language compulsory: Spanish and Catalan are part of the school curriculum in Catalonia; as are Spanish and Basque in the Basque Country, Finnish and Swedish in Finland, or French and English in Quebec. However, foreign language learning is only part of the problem. Once acquired, language skills must be maintained, and state support to this end can be very useful. This support can be part of a concerted language policy plan.

What does research tell us?

We know that foreign language teaching in the mainstream school system has a patchy record.

When available, quantitative data on adults' foreign language skills and on the contribution of school v. non-school channels of acquisition to their skills tell an interesting story: they indicate that non-school channels often trump traditional in-school instruction. The relative importance of various non-school channels varies depending on people's first language (L1) and on the language they are learning (L2). However, having lived for six months or more, after the age of 5, in surroundings where the target language is dominant, always emerges as a major determinant of the skills, as shown by the table on the opposite page, which uses data collected from a representative sample of 1600 adults (age 18–65) in Switzerland. As these figures show, life in surroundings where the target language is spoken always scores high and comes out near the top.

However, not everybody has the opportunity to experience life in foreign-language surroundings, and adults cannot always be expected, despite the interest they may have in learning a foreign language, to take evening classes instead. Another survey in Switzerland (on over 40,000 young adults around the age of 19) reveals that cost is mentioned by 55.3% and 61.6% of male and female respondents respectively (Grin et al., 2015: 550), and must be considered the main hurdle to adults' investment in foreign language learning or maintenance. This provides a strong rationale for the authorities to support schemes for learning and maintaining foreign language skills. The challenge, then, is to develop a system that provides exposure to the language (rather than traditional instruction) both cheaply and in a way that is attractive to adults.

Illustration and evidence

Such a system has been developed under the auspices of the *Bilingualism Forum* of the officially bilingual city of Biel/Bienne, which straddles the German-French language border in Switzerland. Since 2000, the *Bilingualism Forum*, a private foundation that receives public subsidies, has been facilitating the creation of two-person tandems including one native speaker of German and one native speaker of French, who meet once a week for six months for a one-hour conversation, with one language typically used for 30 minutes and the other for another 30 minutes. The *Forum* provides opportunities to meet, regular monitoring of the process, and practical back-up in the form of a standard agreement between the tandem members, a certificate of participation, and a booklet for recording progress made or questions that arise. Participation is free. The *tandems* currently (December 2017) include 400 participants, but are oversubscribed and have a waiting list. While the matchings mainly involve German-French pairs, the *Forum* also offers tandems involving English, Italian and Spanish.

Policy implications

The public support granted to the *Bilingualism Forum* is clearly a part of language policy. Although participants mainly come from the bilingual city of Biel/Bienne where the initiative first emerged, the *Forum* has also been commissioned by the authorities of the French-speaking city of Neuchâtel and the German-speaking city of Berne, which are 40 km apart and do not lie on the language border, to develop a tandem offer specifically targeting residents of these two cities. Tandem participants regularly meet in one or the other city, and their transportation costs are refunded.

In addition to providing a cheap and flexible way to maintain and develop language skills, the tandem approach also offers opportunities for intercultural encounter and exchange between language communities.

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📌 www.bilinguisme.ch/Tandem/Tandems-linguistiques

RANK-ORDER OF THE CONTRIBUTION TO FOREIGN LANGUAGE SKILLS OF 3 SELECTED CHANNELS OF SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION (OUT OF 7). Source: adapted from Grin (1999: 129).

	L1	German		French		Italian		
	L2	French	English	German	English	German	French	English
School teaching of L2 (adjusted for years of study)		1	4	2	3	1	2	4
Having lived in L2 surroundings for 6 months or more after the age of 5		2	2	3	2	2	1	1
Exposure to the L2 at home, during childhood and teen years		3	3	1	1	3	–	–

51 How can migrants' existing language skills be used to help them learn the host country language?

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A large number of migrants coming to Europe already speak a foreign language. These proficiencies should be taken into consideration in their language education. Courses for learning the local language are often strictly monolingual and therefore do not make use of the “propaedeutic effect”, i.e. the positive effect that knowing one or more foreign languages has on learning a new foreign language. Not using this effect is a waste of time and intellectual potential, whether in the case of economic migrants, asylum seekers, or persons who have received refugee status.

What does research tell us?

People migrating to Europe often have skills in English. For example, statistics for Germany in 2015 suggest that 28.1% of asylum seekers have some knowledge of English (Rich 2016: 9). In a survey of refugees conducted in Berlin, 49% reported some knowledge of English, with 13% rating their language skills as “fluent/perfect” (Hochschule für Medien, Kommunikation und Wirtschaft 2016, p. 20).

It has been found that learners of German as an L3, for example, can make use of their previously acquired knowledge of English as an L2, since the two languages are typologically related. This is especially useful if the speaker's mother tongue is unrelated to German. For example, the large group of immigrants speaking Arabic as a first language who also have some knowledge of English as a foreign language can benefit from this when studying German.

To successfully implement this finding in language-teaching programmes, particularly in the context of migration, it is necessary to have data on each student's prior language repertoire, so that homogeneous classes can be put together.

Teachers will then be able to work more effectively, particularly if their teaching is backed up by suitable teaching materials.

However, as people have very different levels in English, it would be useful to ascertain the degree of language proficiency required for prior knowledge to be effective. Of course, such an assessment ought to take into account the role of other factors, such as literacy (or lack of it), both in people's first language and in other languages in their repertoire. Learners can benefit from knowledge of the Latin alphabet and they should be made aware of vocabulary and grammatical items that are similar in English and German, while at the same time being warned against the existence of “false friends” between these two languages and interlingual interference from English.

Illustration and evidence

The common method of teaching a foreign language only in the target language, either for pedagogical considerations (“quasi-immersion”) or practical needs (lack of a common language of instruction) results in very slow progress, particularly in courses for beginners, as some participants in our interview studies reported (Fiedler/Wohlfarth forthcoming, verbatim transcription; @ symbolises laughter):

“German @ With German teachers, I think, even the A levels, they speak only German. So it's really difficult for me to imagine, you have no idea from the language and then you go to the course with a native speaker.”

Research on language courses for refugees has shown that learners nevertheless make use of existing linguistic skills, either translating into their native languages for fellow-students or code-switching into English, as the following excerpt from our interviews indicates:

“At the first, like B1 level, sometimes the teacher also used English to explain. But it’s kind of like forbidden because our Direktor, like our headmaster say it’s not allowed to use English in our class. But we cannot understand, she has to.”

As we see, teachers sometimes make use of English as a lingua franca to facilitate student understanding, but the procedure is neither adopted consistently nor always aided by suitable teaching materials, although such materials are beginning to appear, as shown in the figure. Homogenising learner groups according to their previous knowledge would make it possible to build upon these methods systematically.

Policy implications

Possible policy guidelines are as follows.

1. When putting together language courses in the local language for migrants, prior language knowledge should always be taken into consideration. This should help make groups of learners more homogeneous, and thus better able to work together.
2. Teaching materials that take learners’ language repertoires into account, in particular their knowledge of English, should be developed and put into use.

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5 Ergänzen und vergleichen Sie.

Deutsch	Englisch	Meine Sprache oder andere Sprachen
der Norden	the north	
der O_____	the east	
der S_____	the south	
der W_____	the west	
Norddeutschland	Northern Germany	
Süddeutschland	Southern Germany	

52 Who can benefit from training in receptive language skills?

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People can be trained to acquire specifically receptive (or “intercomprehensive”) language skills. This means that people can learn how to understand what is said or written in a foreign language without necessarily being able to speak or write that language, provided it is closely related to at least one language they are already familiar with. This kind of training was first suggested by the 17th-century mathematician and philologist Pierre Besnier, who considered that languages should be seen as a continuum, and argued that they are therefore best learned through comparison. Nowadays, intercomprehension training is still largely based on exploiting linguistic similarities between related languages: the aim is to develop learners’ ability to elucidate the meaning of semi-transparent words (see table).

Today, a whole array of pedagogical resources, including textbooks and audio material, exist for intercomprehension training in Romance (in particular French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Romanian and Catalan), Germanic (in particular Dutch, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Luxembourgish and Faroese) and Slavic languages (in particular Czech and Slovak). Nevertheless, their use in schools remains very marginal, and when they are used it is generally due to the strong personal commitment of a handful of teachers. This might be because the intercomprehensive approach is usually presented either as ancillary to mainstream language teaching or as a subtype of integrated language teaching making use of documents written in several closely related languages (see Escudé 2008), without really identifying who can *most* benefit from it and what *particular* needs it can address.

What does research tell us?

For mobile people who are going to settle in a new country, language learning is an important step towards inclusion, although it is generally a difficult and time-consuming experience. The development of *receptive* language skills cannot be an end in itself but it can be a useful stepping stone to more comprehensive language learning, including *productive* speaking and writing skills.

Given that acquiring receptive skills requires much less time than learning to speak, this approach allows learners to make *quick progress* and keep the *motivation* to continue learning. Furthermore, providing learners with a set of useful tools for the comprehension of the new linguistic environment allows them to become relatively *independent* in a short time, depending on the language distance between their languages and the host language. This can lead to a feeling of empowerment, which is especially important when there is reduced self-respect due to the learner’s dependent status. Intercomprehension also facilitates *smooth and gradual inclusion* into the new language and society, postponing the stress often linked to speaking a foreign language.

Illustration and evidence

We interviewed ten Italian adoptive families who were welcoming a child who did not speak Italian. The parents emphasized the importance of giving the children linguistic “clues and inputs”, not only to prompt development of the host language but also to help them become familiar with the new environment. Many parents pointed out how useless and sometimes even counterproductive it was to force the child to speak Italian.

Several parents even saw school as a hindrance to linguistic and social inclusion because it was focused exclusively on the child's lack of productive language skills, ignoring that some children spoke a language allowing mutual intelligibility (such as Spanish with respect to Italian) and could follow the curriculum at their age level.

They enrolled him in the first grade despite the fact that he was eight years old and then I stuck to my point and I said, "No, no, you enrol him in the second grade", and they said, "We cannot because he cannot talk and he cannot write".

One parent told how his Spanish-speaking daughter kept silent at school for three months because she thought the school staff were unable to understand her. This kind of situation could easily have been avoided if the teacher had taken into account the mutual intelligibility of the child's first language and the school language.

The teachers understood, but they did not make the effort that we made to understand, so our daughter felt a bit lost.

Our study thus found that intercomprehensive skills were spontaneously used in private settings to smooth the cultural shock caused by mobility, whereas they were often overlooked in public and professional settings, such as schools.

Policy implications

The following measures should be considered.

1. Start language training and testing for incoming mobile learners by focusing on receptive skills, adopting an approach that is both welcoming and conducive to the acquisition of productive skills.
2. Offer language training in receptive skills to teachers and social workers involved in the reception of allophones, allowing them to develop a rough understanding of a wider range of the languages they encounter, instead of learning only a few of them in depth.
3. Encourage teachers and classmates to value the linguistic knowledge of incoming allophone children, which can enhance their own language awareness.
4. Help incoming children integrate into local schools by encouraging them to use the knowledge they already have in their acquired languages (for instance by means of approaches that teach through a foreign language of instruction such as integrated intercomprehension).

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FROM TRANSPARENCY TO OPACITY (based on Castagne, 2007: 161)

Direct transparency	Indirect transparency		Opacity	
	Subtype 1	Subtype 2	Subtype 1	Subtype 2
there is a recognisable equivalent lexical item in L1	suggests a lexical item in L1 whose meaning is inaccurate but similar enough to assist comprehension	there is an equivalent lexical item in L1 but its form may not be immediately recognisable	does not suggest any lexical item in L1	suggests a lexical item in L1 whose meaning is misleading
universidade (PT) universidad (ES) università (IT) université (FR) university (GB) universiteit (NL) Universität (DE)	umbrella (GB) ombrello (F)	miljoen (NL) *million million (F)	zolder (NL) grenier (F)	alcune (I) ?aucune quelques (F)

53 What is the role for English in multilingual and multicultural learning spaces?

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Across Europe, Higher Education (HE) is becoming increasingly multilingual, frequently combining a local or a national language with a lingua franca and other languages. However, formal teaching and research are often becoming monolingual, because they gravitate towards the use of a single lingua franca. Under the guise of internationalisation, English as a lingua franca (or as a *lingua academica*) is often used as a quick fix for attracting students from abroad or to prepare students to act as global players and in different contexts – with the assumption that English is necessarily used in all those different contexts.

What does research tell us?

As learning spaces, HE campuses are becoming ever more multilingual and multicultural¹. Students, professors, researchers and other staff travel around in different types of mobility-enhancing programmes. There is a huge and largely hidden capital of linguistic and cultural diversity that is not used in these multilingual and multicultural learning systems (MMLS), and even forgotten by institutions when seeking to promote mobility and inclusion.

The use of a local or national language is often limited to local/national students, but it must be promoted among mobility and international students. The use of an external lingua franca may generate the impression that it favours inclusion. However, this is not necessarily the case, particularly when the level of proficiency of students and staff is low or even average. The use of a single, dominant language can also be seen as promoting mobility, endowing users with a sense of self-confidence, and creating among them the perception of being accepted in a wide range of new contexts.

Nonetheless, genuine improvements in mobility and inclusion require taking several languages into account, including one's own, as well as the local/national languages encountered in international mobility programs.

Illustration and evidence

A common language is certainly needed between a newly arrived international student and surroundings – that is, before it becomes possible to communicate in the local or national language. It is also needed for international interaction. Its functions, however, should be carefully calibrated. When publishing research results, it is necessary to publish for an international readership; at the same time, it is important to publish in local/national languages, so that scientific and technological results can reach the community that finances them, and, depending on topic, have a contextual impact. Moreover, this is the only way to avoid domain loss for the languages concerned – bearing in mind that domain loss may be a forerunner of partial language loss.

A common misunderstanding frequently leads Administrators of higher education to decide that international teaching and research activities must all be in English, usually under the assumption that this is what lends them status. The well-known case of the “all English” rule of the Milan Politecnico illustrates this tendency, and numerous other examples can be found on the websites of universities in non-English speaking countries promoting programmes in English². The Campus France agency promotes French HE saying “It is thus no longer needed to be fluent in French to study in France”³. This claim reveals where the actual problem resides: HE institutions “sell” the idea that languages are interchangeable codes.

Knowledge, however, is acquired, built and transferred through languages. University classrooms are often made artificially monolingual. Local/national and heritage languages are typically seen as not scientifically relevant, and the impact of HE activity on the local context frequently appears to be underestimated or ignored. These are examples of what Skutnabb-Kangas (1988: 13) calls “linguicism”, a set of “‘ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, regulate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language”.

By taking into consideration the linguistic repertoires of different actors through multilingual lectures, intercomprehensive approaches and/or translanguaging strategies, which use words or phrases from other languages in conversation, allow the use of different languages according to context-specific needs and aims (teaching and learning, local and national dissemination, international communication, etc.). The use of different languages makes access to concepts and knowledge easier, since linguistic competence is a condition for content-knowledge competence. This is shown for example by Dukhan et al. (2016) when studying the impact of the mother tongue on the taking of notes during lectures and academic performance in the first year of study.

Increasing the use of the *Erasmus Online Language Support* (OLS) is a possible first step for the improvement of a multilingual competence. This competence can be accessed and enhanced by the use of the conceptual framework developed in the MAGICC project (www.magicc.eu), which proposes not only a proficiency scale (in form of a set of descriptors), but also scenarios for enhancing multilingual competence.

Several case studies carried out in the MIME project help to understand the impact of the use of different languages in the process of knowledge acquisition. Their results show that when work in class or in research laboratories is done in real MMLS (e.g. using different languages in working groups for problem solving), knowledge is developed and easily acquired in different perspectives, which are verbalised in different languages.

This promotes inclusion and prepares for mobility.

Policy implications

HE must be multilingual because language diversity is an asset and a truly multicultural education should not be reduced to monolingual practices. Multilingual competence ought to be promoted under Higher Education Languages Policies (HELP) designed in context-driven approaches and including strategies to maintain a balance between a lingua franca (including English-medium instruction) and instruction in local/national languages, also making space for students' and staff's own linguistic repertoires.

1. For details about MMLS see the IntlUni project website ► www.intluni.eu
2. However, on 29 January 2018, Italy's *Consiglio di Stato* ruled that the *Politecnico's* plan to offer certain courses in English only was unconstitutional; see ► www.giustizia-amministrativa.it/cdsintra/cdsintra/AmministrazionePortale/DocumentViewer/index.html?ddocname=6RRRYBGTYVS7DABC5SMN-SYVZUQ&q
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Translation,
language
technologies,
and
alternative
strategies

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54 Will machine translation replace human translators?

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As the quality of machine translation improves, should our policies do without human translators? Some commentators predict the arrival of “singularity”, which would be the moment when computers supersede the human brain. The very notion of “singularity” is disputed, but if it arrives, will that be the moment when our policies should rely on machines rather than people? There are several reasons why this will probably not happen soon. But the popular reasons are not the most correct ones.

What does research tell us?

First, on a purely technical level, the problem with current machine-translation systems is not so much with their processing capacity as with the databases on which they operate. In very restricted domains such as operating manuals for heavy machinery, there is no problem with keeping the list of terms and relations stable and clean. In any open domain, however, it is very difficult to ensure the reliability of databases, and all the more so when users publish machine translation output as if it were a human translation, and the errors are then fed back into the open database. Ill-informed users can thus bring down the intelligence of machines.

Second, there is a question of market demand. The global market for professional translations has risen steadily in tune with the general increase in cross-cultural mobility of people and products. This is despite the rise in English as a lingua franca, despite the availability of machine translation and despite a rise in the use of volunteer translation (“crowd-sourcing”). As globalisation increases the overall demand for translations, machine translation is used for low-risk situations where the benefits do not warrant the cost of a human translator.

At this time, machines do not take work away from translators; they do the work that translators are too expensive for. A similar phenomenon seems to hold for interpreting: there is no evidence, as yet, that spoken machine translation as used in Skype Translator, for example, is taking work away from professional interpreters. In all these cases, the technologies simply increase the amount of translation being done.

Third, the nature of professional translation is changing, as a new kind of language-service provision is moving away from pay-by-word translation. The human translator (or interpreter) becomes a guarantor of quality in high-risk situations. Translators are thus moving not only into a certain amount of post-editing but also into re-writing and cross-cultural consultation services, where they can provide the trustworthiness and degrees of adaptation that machine translation was never designed for.

The one huge drawback is the relatively limited range of languages for which electronic databases and other resources are available, or at least available at a level that makes machine translation viable. The larger colonial languages are well served, and 90 or so are currently named as being available for the main online systems, but the numerous smaller languages of immigration simply lack the electronic resources required for machine translation, in some cases starting from a codified script. Speakers of smaller languages are thus obliged to work through a larger language, in effect combining machine translation with mediation through a lingua franca.

Illustration and evidence

Fun can be had with machine translation. As can be seen below, the Luis Fonsi song *Despacito*, rendered into English in a 2014 transfer-based system, will probably not help seduce anyone, but a 2017 neural-based system might.

Although comical errors are commonly used to suggest that machines will never translate like humans, the neural translation system that has been operative since February 2017 performs much better, and oral renditions are similarly improving on Skype Translator. So the fun can be had, but machine translation now demands serious attention.

Policy implications

Policies to enhance multilingualism can thus incorporate machine translation in the following ways.

1. Ensure that the uses and limitations of machine translation are taught as a part of general training in foreign languages.
2. Encourage the training of translators in the communication skills that incorporate machine translation, including not only pre-editing and post-editing but also the skills that promote trustworthiness.
3. Support the development of electronic resources in languages of lesser diffusion.

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Altavista Babelfish (2014)	Google Translate (2017)
Slowly	Slowly
I want to undress to kissing slowly	I want to kiss you slowly
Signed on the walls of your maze	Sign on the walls of your labyrinth
And make your body throughout a manuscript.	And make your whole body a manuscript.

55 What is intercomprehension and what is it good for?

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Intercomprehension (also known as *receptive multilingualism* or *lingua receptiva*) occurs when people communicate with each other, each speaking his or her own language, while understanding the language of the other. This is possible when the speakers have learned the other language to some extent or when the languages are mutually intelligible, i.e. when they are similar enough to allow for a certain degree of spontaneous mutual understanding (Gooskens & van Heuven 2017). Generally, intercomprehension works best when the speakers' respective native languages are close to each other in vocabulary, morphology and syntax, such as Italian and French or Czech and Slovak. Intercomprehension is widespread and well-studied in stable bilingual or multilingual settings such as immigrant families or border regions (e.g. Scandinavia). However, when it comes to interactions with or between mobile citizens, its potential is still far from being realised.

What does research tell us?

According to Braunmüller and Ferraresi (2003), the rise of the monolingual nation state has led to intercomprehension being used less frequently and becoming largely unknown by the wider public. But then, intercomprehension might be expected to become more frequent in the multilingual settings of European society, and one suspects that its spontaneous use is much more frequent than is generally assumed.

Intercomprehension has been found to be one of the *fairest* modes of multilingual communication because it allows each person to speak his or her own language.

Given that it takes less time to acquire receptive rather than productive skills (particularly in a language from the same language family), intercomprehension is also a *rational* mediation choice for people who travel often or move from one country to another; the development of reading skills often comes first, encouraging progress in other skills. Furthermore, intercomprehension allows for truly *intercultural* interactions, as both speakers adapt to the other.

Illustration and evidence

Over the past twenty years, several research projects, including some funded by the European Commission (e.g. EuRom4, EuroCom) have examined numerous facets of intercomprehension and resulted in the development of specialised teaching materials for language teachers or language learners. However, several questions require closer examination, such as the conditions of the spontaneous use of intercomprehension by highly mobile citizens without any particular language training. For this reason, the MIME project has focused its empirical studies about intercomprehension in two very specific multilingual settings.

Our main study has focused on Italian families who had adopted a non-Italian-speaking child. Observation of two Italian families adopting a child from Chile showed that intercomprehension was used spontaneously by all family members. When asked about this, the parents declared that they preferred intercomprehension to other strategies because it allowed them to express themselves accurately.

Father: I am this kind of person who prefers to express himself I mean to speak my language let's say [...] because it gives me the impression that I am making myself understood.

Of course, accuracy can only be communicated if the languages allow a sufficient degree of mutual intelligibility, as in the case of Spanish and Italian. In addition, a good deal of cooperation is necessary for oral intercomprehension to work. Parents mentioned that they initially adapted their speech in order to facilitate mutual understanding, adopting an inclusive attitude. In the context of child adoption, intercomprehension allows equal participation of all family members, which enhances bonding in the family.

Another study on the languages used by international football professionals in France indicated that the use of intercomprehension is often regarded with suspicion. The Argentine football trainer Marcelo Bielsa, for instance, who uses consecutive interpretation at press conferences, was asked about his intercomprehensive skills by a journalist, suggesting that his partial language skills manifest the lack of desire to speak French.

Journalist (in French): How do you sometimes manage to understand questions in French without speaking our language? (Translation in Spanish)

Marcelo Bielsa (in Spanish): Because I fear the ridicule and I'd make a fool of myself. (Translation in French)

Journalist (in French): Next season, you will speak better French. (Translation in Spanish)

Marcelo Bielsa (in Spanish): We will see. (Translation in French)

Although intercomprehension is widely used and highly valued in informal contexts, it remains less accepted in professional contexts. Fortunately, studies of professional contexts show that the more intercomprehension is used, the better it is accepted (Berthele & Wittlin 2013).

Policy implications

Strong policy support is essential in order to move from potential mutual intelligibility to actual intercomprehension between speakers. The following initiatives can be suggested.

1. Make people aware that the many formal similarities between cognate languages provide direct access to information.
2. Make people confident about their spontaneous intercomprehensive skills and encourage them to boost those skills through practice or training.
3. Encourage speakers engaged in face-to-face interactions to express themselves in the languages they know best, whenever they are capable of understanding each other to a sufficient extent (whether because they are proficient in a closely related language or because they have some passive knowledge of the other's language or a combination of the two).

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56 Do translation and interpreting services reduce incentives to learn host languages?

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With increasing immigration, public debate in some host countries has started to link translation and interpreting services with the failure to include newly arrived migrants in the linguistic mainstream. This belief has been detected in the US (Schuck 2009: 162, 170) and in the UK (Schäffner 2009). Similar arguments against translation and interpreting can be found in political discourse. For example, in 2007 the UK Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government Ruth Kelly (2007) argued that providing translation and interpreting services hampered incentives for immigrants to learn English since it serves as a crutch that extends their reliance on their mother tongue. In 2015 UK Communities Secretary Eric Pickles was reported to have said “councils should stop wasting taxpayers’ money by translating into foreign languages. Translation holds people back from integrating into British society” (reported in the *Daily Mail Online*, 10 January 2015).

None of these claims is based on empirical evidence and no causal link has ever been established between the provision of interpreting and translation services and unwillingness to learn the host language.

What does research tell us?

A longitudinal study was conducted in Slovenia with a group of recent immigrants who had free interpreting and translation services as well as free courses in Slovene. A questionnaire was used to identify the language profiles of 127 residents of the asylum seeker centres, while qualitative data were obtained through semi-structured interviews conducted with 38 asylum seekers.

The results below refute the assumption that translation and interpreting hinder inclusion.

- ▶ Translation and interpreting are not the preferred communication strategies. Recent migrants or newcomers prefer to use other communication strategies, most frequently English as a lingua franca or the local language, once they become fluent. Only 10% of the interviewees had had no choice but to use interpreters in their daily lives in the host country. However, the majority of the interviewees (87%) insisted that they needed the support of interpreters and translators in high-risk situations in legal, police, administrative and health-care settings.
- ▶ Migrants perceive translation and interpreting as no more than a temporary solution. The majority (61%) actually consider translators and interpreters an obstacle, restricting their independent communication with the new environment. In fact, when asked to imagine a scenario where they could always receive help from a qualified interpreter whenever they wanted, all of them said they would prefer to learn the host language.
- ▶ In addition to feeling uncomfortable and dependent when using a mediator, some migrants (31%) said they did not always trust interpreters and translators to convey everything they wanted to express.
- ▶ Our study found no correlation between the state provision of translation and interpreting services and any disincentive to learn the host language. Some 95% of interviewees reported that knowing the local language was important in order to seek employment and form relationships.

Out of those who had been in Slovenia for more than six months, all had taken a state-financed course in Slovene, and one third of them had reached the point where they were able to take part in the interview in Slovene.

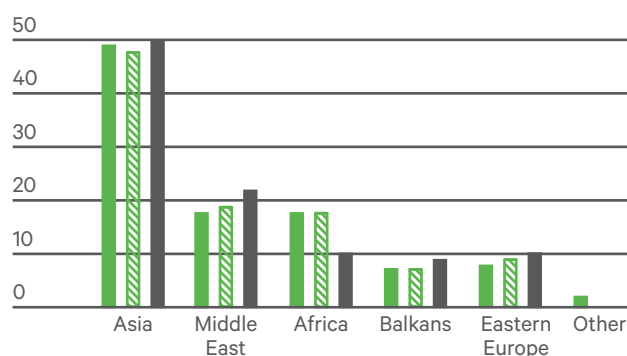
Illustration and evidence

We thus found no negative relationship between the provision of translation and interpreting services and the motivation of asylum-seekers to learn the dominant language of the host country.

THE INTERVIEWEES' GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN COMPARED WITH THE OVERALL ASYLUM SEEKER POPULATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

(2013–2016, N=1585, data provided by the Ministry of the Interior) **AND THE POPULATION IN THE SLOVENE ASYLUM SEEKER CENTRES IN OCTOBER 2016** (data gathered through a questionnaire covering 107 asylum seekers, i.e. 47% out of 243 residing in the Slovene asylum seeker centres).

- statistics of the ministry of the interior
- ▨ questionnaire among all asylum seekers in October 2006
- interviewees



Policy implications

Policymakers should thus bear the following points in mind.

- ▶ Specific translation policies can be designed for different groups of migrants.
- ▶ High-quality translation and interpreting services should be provided by the state for newly arrived migrants, in particular in high-risk situations and in the early stages of their stay.
- ▶ High-quality interpreter training is required for the main language combinations.
- ▶ Continuous and free language courses should be provided to teach the host language.

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57 Should a planned language such as Esperanto be promoted as an international lingua franca?

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The sociolinguistic status of the international language Esperanto suggests that a planned language can be an effective means of communication just like any ethnic (or “natural”) language. Despite its 130-year history, Esperanto is not the subject of serious linguistic research to the degree enjoyed by other languages, and its acquisition is not fostered with the same intensity.

What does research tell us?

According to *Ethnologue*, a frequently used reference on living languages, Esperanto is the second language of 2 million people (see also Wandel 2015); other estimates propose a number of 100,000 fluent speakers only. Since May 2015, more than 1.6 million people have started learning the language on the Internet platform Duolingo. Experience indicates that due to the transparency of its morphosyntactic structure Esperanto is much easier to learn than other foreign languages (see, for example, Piron 2006: 2489), although this claim is difficult to substantiate in controlled studies.

We have studied the use of Esperanto as a lingua franca in cases of long-term and medium-term mobility (with a focus on Esperanto-speaking families) as well as its use as a corporate language in an international NGO in Slovakia (see Fiedler & Brosch 2018). Our findings suggest that the planned language can function as an efficient and expressive means of cross-cultural communication, allowing high degrees of inclusion. The participants in our NGO study (mainly interns and volunteers working for the European Voluntary Service) confirmed the ease of learning the language in a relatively short time.

While some of the volunteers working in the NGO knew Esperanto prior to their 6- or 12-month internships, others began learning it only after their decision to work there.

Another interesting result was that the professional setting of the NGO, which included employees and interns with six different mother tongues, was characterised by multilingual practices that changed according to the communicative situation and participants: Esperanto was used in about 80% of all interactions at work and also in personal communication during lunch breaks, while in the remaining time the local language, Slovak, and English as a lingua franca were used. In addition, our interviews found that a number of speakers reported experiencing for themselves the propaedeutic effect of Esperanto, i.e. their successful acquisition of Esperanto helped them learn further foreign languages. These findings show that the adoption of a planned language does not necessarily mean a devaluation of other languages.

Illustration and evidence

Knowledge of the planned language facilitated subsequent acquisition of other languages, including learning the local language after settling in a new host country with an Esperanto-speaking family:

“Esperanto has helped a lot to stimulate my ability to speak [...] on the whole, I would not even have tried to learn Hungarian if I had not had an Esperanto textbook for learning Hungarian, which made it easier for me.”

Esperanto has proven to be a living language with great potential as an effective means of communication in various domains. It is used in everyday conversation, as a language for special purposes, and as a medium for original and translated literature. It is the most successful of more than 1,000 constructed-language projects. This is partly due to its structural properties: a productive word-formation system and flexible syntax and reduction of complexity and exceptions, all without loss of expressiveness. But Esperanto's success is above all due to extralinguistic factors: the language has found a speech community that is sufficiently diverse and creative to guarantee its development and sustained dissemination. In April 2012 Esperanto was added to the languages in Google Translate, and development of Vikipedio (the Esperanto-language Wikipedia) is ongoing, with over 240,000 articles as of December 2017. The few native speakers of Esperanto (about 1,000 people) do not impose linguistic norms, meaning all speakers can communicate on an equal footing.

For these reasons, education systems should not ignore Esperanto, but should instead reconsider its potential as a language for communication of worth equal to that of natural languages. Efforts might be made to provide education in the planned language alongside other foreign language instruction.

Policy implications

1. Planned languages and interlinguistics (the study of planned languages) should be established as fields of teaching and research at universities.
2. Professional teaching materials for teaching Esperanto in schools should be created.
3. Esperanto should be offered as a foreign language in selected schools across Europe, as part of a coordinated approach to ascertain its value over the long term on a large scale. This would require teacher-training courses for each participating school with standards that guarantee high-quality teaching, as with other foreign languages.
4. All measures for the promotion of Esperanto should be accompanied by large-scale information campaigns familiarising the general public with the fact that this language is already being used worldwide on a regular basis by people from very different linguistic backgrounds.

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58 Should machine translation be used when providing public services?

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Machine translation is commonly available in free online formats, the most prominent of which are run by the largest IT companies in the world, based in the United States. There is a widespread opinion that the translations provided by these systems are defective and untrustworthy, and should be shunned in all circumstances. However, many people use these online services on a constant basis and know how to integrate the results into other communication strategies. The question is not *whether* machine translation can be used, but *how* and *when* it can be used.

What does research tell us?

A survey of the use of MT in public services shows two kinds of situations, and they are crucially different.

In the first scenario, a fixed text (a piece of official writing or perhaps a website) is fed through a free online machine-translation system, or buttons are provided online so users can do this for themselves. The result is a written translation that *will* have errors in it. You will not see those errors if you do not know the language; the errors may not be fatal; but they are there. In many cases the user will be able to make sense of what the website or document is about, but there will almost certainly be negative consequences of some kind.

1. The user will feel that their language is not being respected, which is likely to have negative consequences for a sense of social inclusion.
2. There are negative effects on the corporate image of the public service concerned.

3. Although the general ideas will be communicated, the user tends to develop a rational mistrust of details, which means that any key or high-risk information is often simply not believed or has to be followed up via alternative channels.
4. In worst-case situations, notoriously with regard to health services, high-risk information might be believed and acted upon, with potentially disastrous consequences.

In a second scenario, users themselves select the machine translation into a language that is not otherwise available, and are warned of the associated risks. A health-service website might do this, for example, to present a list of telephone numbers that can be used for follow-up assistance (see Liddicoat and Hale 2015), which is a low-risk situation where machine translation is certainly better than nothing.

Illustration and evidence

When machine translation is applied to specialised situations like medical consultations, this can be done by dividing the dialogue into closed scripts, with a limited number of options at each stage. This can work well enough for as long as the dialogue stays within the script, as can be seen in a specialised medical translator that is free to download. Once you leave the closed script, other solutions are needed.

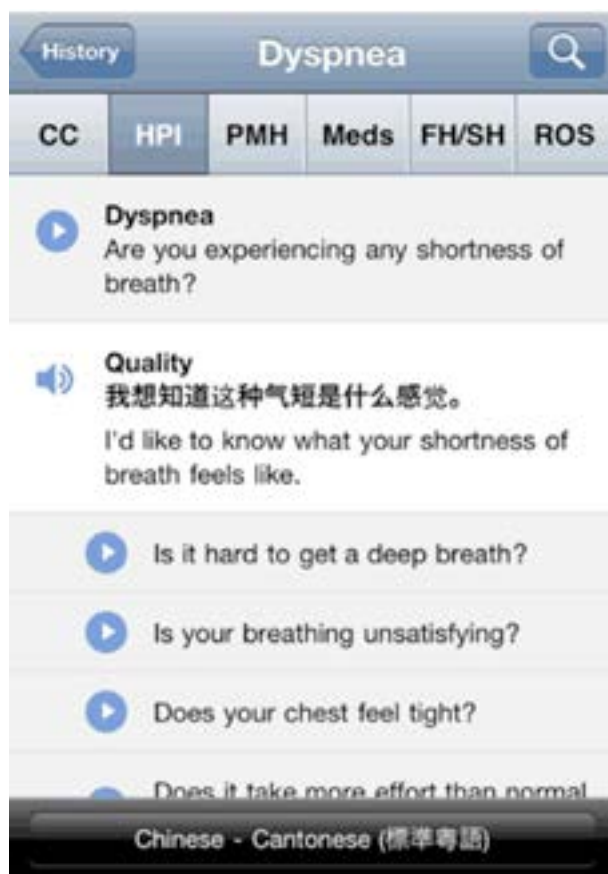
Our MIME case studies in Tarragona, Leipzig and Ljubljana have found that recent immigrants and asylum-seekers do use online machine translation to prepare themselves for important events like a visit to the doctor.

They thus come to the interview with at least some understanding of the terms that are going to be used and the kinds of things that will be said. In such situations, machine translation is not simply “better than nothing”. It is a real help to be used in combination with other mediation strategies: lingua franca, intercomprehension, use of the host language. In this kind of situation, the use of machine translation is not only legitimate but is worth cultivating, and worth training people for.

Policy implications

The policy implications are as follows.

1. In general, machine translation should not be used by service providers unless it is in combination with other communication strategies (pre-editing, post-editing). This is especially true for high-risk situations.



2. At the same time, links to user-selected machine translation can be used for low-risk situation and for languages in which no human translations are likely to be provided. In no case should the machine translation be considered a surrogate for a translation completed by a qualified professional.
3. Service providers should recognise that many of their clients are using machine translation in full awareness of its limitations, and in successful combinations with other mediation solutions. There should be no attempt to ban such practices.
4. Training in the intelligent use of machine translation should be part of general training programmes in mediation, recognised as a basic language skill.

The advent of neural machine translation from 2016 has improved output quality for many language pairs, and there can be no doubt that the younger the users the better they are at integrating machine translation into sets of communication strategies.

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59 Should English as a lingua franca come in many varieties?

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In recent years, several political philosophers have re-examined the use of English as the global lingua franca, asking in particular if this dominant role is compatible with principles of justice. Over the same period, a fast-growing new debate has emerged in linguistics about the use of English as a lingua franca, suggesting that when used by non-native speakers English is in fact being replaced by another, distinct idiom, rather as other commentators refer to “Globish” as distinct from standard English in one of its many native varieties (see, for example, Seidlhofer 2011, Jenkins 2014). Some argue that the kind of English that is used as a lingua franca should not be thought of as ‘owned’ by native speakers of English. Instead, *English as a lingua franca* (ELF) should be seen as legitimate in its own right, not as a deficient form of English.

What does research tell us?

Linguistic interest in ELF and political philosophers’ interest in linguistic justice have developed simultaneously but the two literatures have so far not engaged with each other (except, for example, Gazzola and Grin 2013). Van Parijs (2011), a prominent advocate of using English internationally, as well as several of his followers, assume that English used internationally is no different from English as a Native Language (ENL). Proponents of ELF, on the contrary, view them as essentially different. However, apart from some passing references, they do not engage with the questions raised by political philosophers interested in linguistic justice. This lack of attention is problematic, because it can lead to serious errors in the diagnosis of the questions at hand.

For example, the claim that non-native speakers of English are no longer at a disadvantage *vis-à-vis* native speakers when English is spoken as a lingua franca (in the sense of “ELF”; see Jenkins 2014: 39–40; Seidlhofer 2011: 16) remains vague. To substantiate such a claim, we would first need a clear conception of what the non-ELF injustice or disadvantage consists of, and of how ELF solves or reduces it. Only then can claims about the greater justice of ELF be appropriately made.

At the same time, if the use of English by non-native speakers can be dissociated from the use of English by native speakers, this should lead philosophers to reexamine the claim that using English as the world’s global vehicular language is unjust. Some features of the ELF argument should then enter the normative discussion of global linguistic justice, leading to a reshuffling of current positions and a reorientation of prevalent arguments.

Research identifies four sources of global linguistic injustice in a world where English would be used as the global lingua franca.

1. **Communicative injustice:** non-native speakers of English will have comparatively lower communicative abilities, which may hamper their communication.
2. **Resource injustice:** non-native speakers must invest considerable resources in learning English, while native speakers do not need to.
3. **Life-world injustice:** non-English languages are relegated to the periphery, while the speakers of those languages find themselves spending increasing parts of their lives in English-speaking surroundings and references (what political philosophers call a “life-world”).

4. **Dignity injustice:** the higher status of English implies, correlatively, a lower status for other languages, and a lower degree of dignity and prestige for them.

Illustration and evidence

Reconceptualising English as ELF does not eliminate linguistic injustice. First, resource investment remains fundamentally unequal. Second, because ELF is not stable and inherently dynamic, it is unclear for speakers what the communicative target is, which can result in communicative uncertainty. Moreover, a proficiency gap between native speakers and non-native speakers remains in most cases. Third, although it is theoretically possible to “de-culturalise” the English language and to “re-culturalise” it as a truly shared, neutral language, it is implausible, particularly in light of the fundamental instability of ELF, which is in stark contrast with the strong cultural embeddedness of ENL in economically, politically and demographically important countries like Britain, the United States, Australia, etc. (Mackenzie, 2014). Fourth, precisely because of the difference between an unstable ELF and a long-established ENL with strong literary and national traditions, the prestige of ELF is unlikely ever to match that of ENL.

Policy implications

A possible alternative, given the fact that English exerts considerable influence and is currently used more than any other language in international communication, is to look for another strategy regarding the use of English. It can, in particular, be conceived as a polycentric lingua franca, just as native languages such as German, Dutch (and English itself!) are polycentric as well. The resulting implication does not directly translate into policy measures, but it can broaden the scope of the considerations brought to bear on language policy goals.

If the lingua franca itself is viewed as polycentric, the use of English in international communication should embrace L1-based ways of speaking English, making the language internally more diverse. This approach provides a clearer communicative norm to guard against proficiency uncertainty (as would be the case if ELF were seen as a learning objective). As demonstrated in De Schutter (forthcoming), it allows L1 features and expressions to be transferred into English, thereby providing for stabler re-culturalisation, and it restores more equal dignity by appropriating the language, setting norms for it, and giving non-native users of English the confidence that what they speak is (good) English as well, according to local rules, the standardization of which provides speakers with a more credible counterweight to ENL standards than the volatility of ELF can.

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60 What linguistic approaches are appropriate to meet the language needs of mobile retirees?

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The migration of relatively affluent retirees from Northern Europe to retirement destinations along the Mediterranean coasts gives rise to distinctive sociolinguistic settings. Many retired migrants do not learn the host country language, at least not in depth. Instead, migrants together with other local actors use a range of linguistic strategies to meet their communicative needs. What are these strategies, and how should local policymakers navigate the complex linguistic landscape of international retirement migration?

What does research tell us?

Two normative perspectives on mobility and linguistic diversity in Europe can be identified. First, language issues are prominent in discussions on immigrant integration. It is often considered crucial that immigrants learn the host country language in order to gain access to the labour market and be able to participate in political processes, and also for cultural reasons related to belonging and identity. From this perspective, the preferred outcome is individual-level multilingualism, i.e. immigrants learning the host country language in addition to their native language.

Second, there are both European and national policies on minority language rights, which sometimes also apply to migrants. Such rights imply that legal residents with another native language than the majority or official language should, under certain circumstances, have the opportunity to use their native language. From this perspective, the preferred outcome is societal-level multilingualism – that the host society provides information not only in the majority language but also in relevant minority languages, and that interpretation or translation is available in certain situations.

When facing the language needs of mobile retirees, policymakers need to balance these two perspectives.

Illustration and evidence

In the case of international retirement migration, MIME research has identified a number of linguistic strategies employed by mobile retirees.

1) Many retirees – at least those from smaller language communities – initially try to learn the host country language. Local authorities may have a role to play in providing language courses adapted to the needs of foreign retirees, unless other actors do so. For example, retirees tend to prefer a focus on communicative skills rather than on grammatical correctness, and online courses may be useful in destinations with many seasonal migrants who cannot attend regular *in situ* classes.

Yet language education is not sufficient. Older people often find it difficult to learn a new language, and have fewer opportunities and incentives than younger persons to learn the local language. MIME research shows that retirees who migrate for ‘lifestyle’ reasons often acquire little proficiency in the languages of their new home countries.

2) Instead, retired migrants are often able to use their native language. MIME research has identified four ways of doing this. First, many retirement destinations have seen the emergence of expatriate communities where retired migrants can live much of their everyday lives in native-language settings.

Second, retirees may use interpretation or translation services, which are often easily available in places where many foreign retirees have settled. Yet an important insight from the MIME research is that such language services are often provided by friends, acquaintances or interpreters without formal qualifications. In sensitive situations this may be problematic. Third, intercomprehension (mutual understanding among users of proximate languages) has been reported in certain settings. Fourth, migrants may return temporarily to their (former) home countries to perform certain activities, for example to see their doctor. This strategy can be described as ‘exit’.

3) Finally, English is increasingly being used as a lingua franca in retirement destinations, as both retirees and locals acquire better knowledge of English. For many retired migrants it clearly makes life easier if they have the opportunity to communicate in English rather than in the local language. But the predominance of English also involves questions of power and status that may be sensitive in interaction between natives and foreigners, and thus for social cohesion. Moreover, local authorities sometimes seem to have too much confidence in English and think that information provided in English is accessible to all foreigners.

That is not the case, since not all mobile retirees understand English, and even those who do generally achieve a better understanding if they receive information in their native language. English is often useful for everyday communication and for disseminating general information, but native language interpretation or translation is needed as a complement for certain groups and individuals, and in particularly sensitive situations.

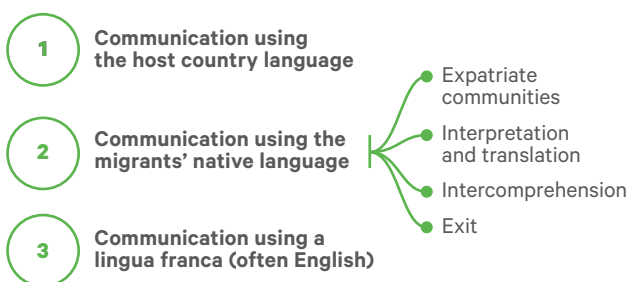
Policy implications

Retired migrants use a wide range of linguistic strategies in order to manage everyday communication. Policymakers need to acknowledge and accommodate this diversity, avoid ‘one-size-fits-all’ solutions and instead be prepared to use different linguistic approaches depending on the situation. These may include adapted language education for migrants, cooperation with ethnic associations, good-quality public interpretation and translation services, and a well-considered use of English as a lingua franca. If host country authorities are able and willing to provide interpretation in other areas than court proceedings, where it is required by EU law, priority should be given to medical care.

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LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES IN INTERNATIONAL RETIREMENT MIGRATION



61 How can intercomprehension be used in professional contexts?

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A major challenge facing public and private institutions in Europe is how to handle a great diversity of multilingual communication settings, including work. Research in language economics shows that a high level of English is not necessarily enough and that skills in other foreign languages can be handsomely rewarded because they provide added competitive edge (e.g. Grin, Sfreddo & Vaillancourt 2010). Alternative solutions for companies operating in a multilingual context involve recruiting native speakers, using professional interpreters and translators, and providing in-house language training. Alongside these well-known strategies, the potential of intercomprehension remains largely underexploited, be it in its oral or written form.

What does research tell us?

In professional contexts, the use of oral intercomprehension has been observed in face-to-face encounters, both between close collaborators (Ribbert & ten Thije 2007) and in informal encounters (Klaveren & De Vries 2012). A number of advantages have been claimed for this mediation mode, especially in contexts involving teamwork. Whenever colleagues speak (or have sufficient knowledge of) cognate (that is, relatively closely related) languages, these common linguistic competences can be used in order to save time, avoid mental fatigue and convey mutual cultural understanding.

In professional contexts involving documents written in foreign languages, the use of intercomprehension is fairly widespread, especially when it is combined with the use of dictionaries or translation tools. Written receptive skills prove very profitable for two main reasons.

First, they allow maximum flexibility, as with a little training it is perfectly feasible not only to attain a high-quality understanding of cognate languages, but also to retrieve information from documents written in less closely related but contact languages (Castagne 2007). Second, they involve no direct costs and may reduce the need for interpreting and translation services. A simulation of internal communication between European institutions and member states suggests that the implementation of intercomprehension among MEPs and European officials, as an alternative to a model based exclusively on interpreting and translation between *all* the official languages of the EU, would significantly reduce the number of translation pairs, allowing member states to save several million euros (Grin 2008) while promoting multilingual practices.

Illustration and evidence

In order to explore intercomprehension in professional settings, we conducted a study of 10 former postgraduates of the University of Reims Champagne-Ardenne who had been trained for two years in receptive skills in at least three Romance languages (Italian, Spanish, Portuguese) and three Germanic languages (German, English and Dutch). Nine out of ten of the participants reported using written intercomprehension most often in combination with the use of a dictionary. However, only a few participants said they used their intercomprehensive skills for oral documents, and this only in private contexts.

Thus, even professionals who have been trained in receptive multilingualism tend not to use these skills in oral contexts.

This suggests that the professional use of oral intercomprehension is not yet considered a true alternative to strategies such as a lingua franca. One possible solution might be to encourage professionals to explicitly agree on the mediation strategies they can use, for instance by briefly telling each other about their respective language repertoires when they begin to work together.

Policy implications

In view of this, policymakers might want to consider the following measures.

1. Encourage and help professional organisations to set up pilot projects that foster the use of intercomprehension, both for dealing with written documents and in face-to-face interactions within teams.

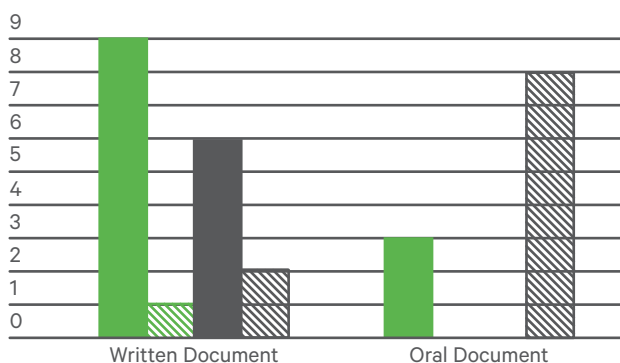
2. Professional organisations should provide individual training in interactional intercomprehensive skills for staff involved in multilingual teams and in written receptive skills for staff members who are frequently confronted with documents produced in mutually intelligible or already partially known languages.
3. Include training in intercomprehensive skills for multilingually and interculturally oriented job profiles.

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RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION: "FACED WITH A DOCUMENT IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE, WHICH STRATEGY DO YOU USE?"

- try to understand the document through intercomprehension
- ▨ search for an equivalent document in L1
- consult a dictionary
- ▨ resort to translation or interpretation services



62 What are the best ways of working with machine translation?

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It is easy to get a free online translation, be shocked by the errors, and declare that the systems are useless, and humans will always translate better. But when online machine-translation services attract more than 500 million users and are offered in over 100 languages (Turovsky 2016), people are clearly finding them useful, particularly in situations of intensive mobility. The challenge is to know exactly *what* machine translation is good for, and *when* it should be used.

What does research tell us?

Since machine translation is used in many different domains, researchers are able to select the domains that are best suited to the results they want to find. Research done by the developers and their companies thus tends to overstate general performance, just as easily as resistant research by traditional translators can overstate poor performance. Our survey of how machine translation is actually used in public services identifies several very different scenarios.

Machine translation in closed domains: Whenever a limited number of things are being related in a limited number of ways, for example in machinery manuals or specific IT products, raw machine translation quality can be very high, although outputs have to be checked (“post-edited”) in cases of high-risk communication. When in-house machine translation engines are used in this way, they are operating like large translation memories.

Machine translation for low-risk communication: In any situation where the costs of error are minimal and are understood by users, it is common to provide user-initiated machine translation for languages that would otherwise not receive translations.

This may happen on municipal websites, for example, where the user has to click on the language concerned and should be made aware that the translation may be faulty. This same principle applies in situations where dialogic feedback enables the verbal checking of translations, as in health consultations. In such situations, machine translation tends to be part of the solutions used by mobile people.

Post-editing in open or high-risk domains: When the above criteria do not apply, machine translations have to be corrected (“post-edited”) by humans, perhaps in several different ways. In many domains, the post-editing of machine translation produces translations of a quality similar to fully-human translations and with some savings in terms of time.

Non-translators as post-editors: In many technical domains, field experts who do not know the start language can successfully post-edit machine translation output. They may be interested volunteers, as in the case of “crowd-sourcing”. Their work can then be checked by professional translators, in accordance with the quality required.

Pre-editing when multiple target languages are needed: The major alternative to post-editing is “pre-editing”, where the start text is written in simplified, controlled language prior to being fed through a machine translation system. The quality can be very high, and the efficiency gains rise with each additional target language required. As a rule of thumb, if you are translating into more than five target languages, then pre-editing will be better than post-editing.

Illustration and evidence

There are many ways of integrating machine translation into workflows. A maximizing model is the above diagram from Carson-Berndsen et al. (2009). Text enters at top-left, where translatable are extracted and are automatically segmented (usually into sentences) for processing in translation memory systems. The segments are then fed through a machine-translation system, which gives a version that can be edited by volunteer professionals or target-language experts in the field in question. Professional translators then revise the result, followed by a stylistic revision and a target-language review. The translatable are then fed into the original format (“reconstruction”), with possible graphic material, and the translation is ready for delivery. There is obviously no need to have all these steps in all projects, but all could be considered in accordance with need. And there is no need to follow this specific order: Temizöz (2013), for example, found that higher quality came from target-language engineers revising translators’ postediting than vice-versa. The important point is that no one in the professional field is presenting raw machine translation as a final product.

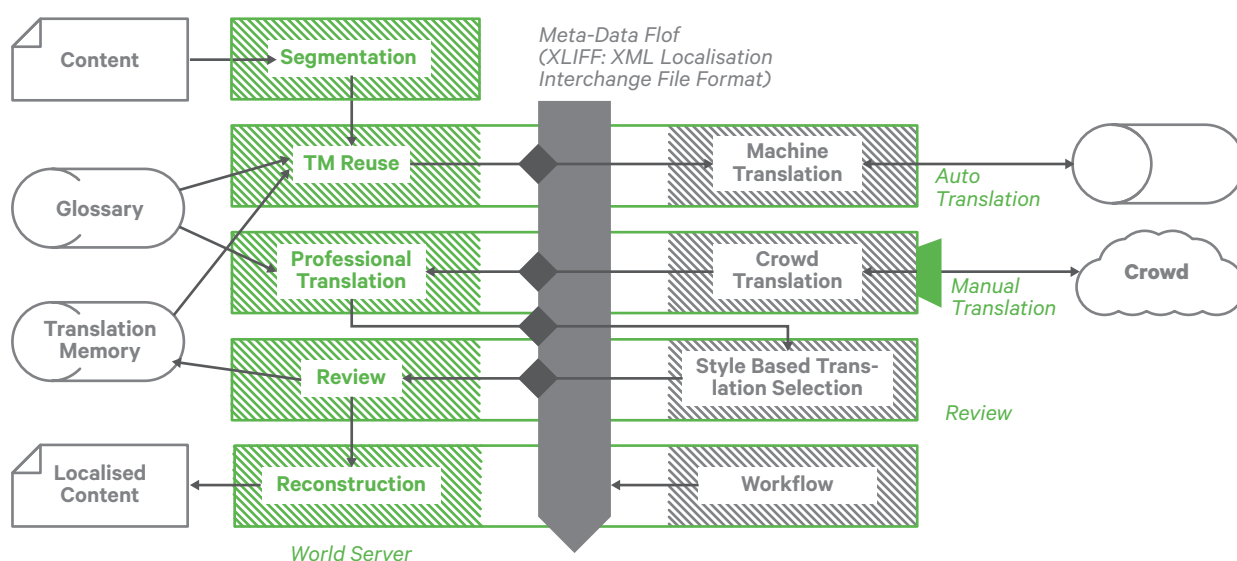
Policy implications

The following guidelines should be considered by policymakers engaging with machine translation:

- ▶ machine translation can be integrated into workflows that include post-editing and/or pre-editing;
- ▶ raw machine translation should only be presented in low-risk situations where it is user-initiated, the limitations are understood, and the language would otherwise not receive a translation. Raw machine translation by itself thus cannot satisfy demands based on language rights;
- ▶ the training of translators should include post-editing and pre-editing, and professionals with these skills should be employed.

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63 Who should work as interpreters or translators?

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Newly arrived migrants, bilingual family members, professionals in other fields (e.g. nurses) and bilingual employees (e.g. cleaners at health-care institutions) often work as cultural brokers in highly sensitive healthcare, legal, police, and school settings, with little or no training for these tasks. These ad-hoc interpreters and translators are regularly employed by the state and other stakeholders in various EU states. So do we need to train translators and interpreters, or can untrained bilinguals and specialists be used for these communication purposes?

What does research tell us?

Several studies have analysed situations where interpreting was carried out by professionals who had not been trained as interpreters. They show that the professionals often convey incorrect information that leads to miscommunication. For example, Elderkin-Thompson et al. (2001) analysed 21 Spanish-speaking patients communicating with their physicians with the help of nurse interpreters. They found that approximately half the encounters resulted in serious miscommunication, compromising the physician's understanding of the symptoms and undermining the credibility of the patient's concerns. Similarly, Berg-Seligson (2011) studied police officers acting as interpreters during suspect questioning and found out that their mediation resulted in the transfer of incorrect information that led to serious miscommunication.

Other research shows that there are significant risks associated with using ad-hoc interpreters and translators such as bilingual family members, including inaccuracy of the transfer (omissions and additions) and the lack of impartiality and confidentiality.

Ad-hoc interpreters often introduce their own opinions, challenge the statements made by the person whose utterance they are interpreting, guide answers or answer questions on behalf of the person they are interpreting, and often engage in other tasks outside the interpreted conversation (Cambridge 1999, Flores et al. 2003, Martínez-Gómez 2014; Lesch and Saulse 2014).

Illustration and evidence

Ad-hoc interpreters and translators can also introduce considerable mistrust in the communication. The MIME survey carried out among the asylum seekers in Slovenia in 2016 showed that migrants who have to resort to interpreters in their communication with the authorities are aware that untrained interpreters are often used in the interpreted communication and that this lack of training is reflected in miscommunication. A 33-year-old man from Iran said:

The official translators and interpreters that translate the papers, yes, they are qualified. But the others that are just interpreters... Some of them, they didn't study, most of them, they didn't study in this field, so they just... Because they just know the language, they come to work. [...] It has happened that there was a misunderstanding among the people, or mistranslating among the people.

This working force lacking adequate qualification then leads to frustration, as was expressed by a 22-year-old man from Afghanistan:

I often noticed that [...] most translators aren't capable of understanding what you want to understand... It's either they aren't able to understand or aren't capable, I don't know... Or maybe you can't explain it the way you want to, you know. And that way, information gets lost on its way to the third person.

The research thus shows that the use of untrained bilinguals can lead to a breakdown of communication and build up frustration among the participants.

Policy implications

In order to avoid communication breakdowns due to interpretation or translation by untrained interpreters and/or translators, policymakers should consider the following:

1. subsidize training for professionals, with a focus on acquiring interpreting and translation skills;
2. provide training for bilinguals with a focus on acquiring thematic competence (i.e. knowledge of the field), interpreting and translation competences, and professional ethics;
3. develop affordable training opportunities so that migrants can enter the profession of community interpreting and translation.

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64 How and when should translation and interpreting services be provided for newly arrived migrants?

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Recent migration flows have presented challenges to the provision of translation or interpreting support in civic, social, economic, and political activities. These services are often represented in the media as a significant and unnecessary drain on public funds. Various language policies do stipulate when translation and interpreting have to be provided. In the EU, they are ensured in asylum procedures by Directive 2013/32/EU and in criminal proceedings by Directive 2010/64/EU. However, there is no EU legislation that ensures mediated access to public institutions (schools, universities, community centres, etc.), human and social services (refugee help centres, self-help centres), healthcare institutions, faith-based organisations or emergency services.

So what are the contexts in which translation and interpreting support is crucial and should be provided by the state, and at what cost?

What does research tell us?

Several studies of the use of untrained interpreters in court have shown that high-quality interpreting provision is crucial for ensuring fair legal process (Hertog 2015). Other studies demonstrate the importance of high-quality interpreting and translation support in healthcare settings.

In healthcare contexts, the failure to provide appropriate language support may lead to inadequate diagnosis or misdiagnosis, delayed or incorrect medical treatment, too frequent appointments with the physician, prolonged length of stay in hospital, and duplicate testing. Lindholm et al. (2012) have analysed the records of 3,071 patients at a hospital in the US between 2004 and 2007.

The length of a hospital stay for patients with limited knowledge of English was significantly shorter when professional interpreters were used at admission or both at admission and at discharge. Patients who did not receive professional interpreting had an average stay of 0.75 to 1.47 days longer than patients who had an interpreter at both admission and discharge. Moreover, patients receiving interpretation at admission and/or discharge were less likely to be readmitted within 30 days. The savings are fairly clear if one bears in mind that the average cost for a day in hospital in the United States in 2013 ranged from US\$ 1,791 (for-profit hospitals) to US\$ 2,289 (non-profit hospitals), while the average payment for a translator or interpreter in a US hospital was US\$ 22.90 an hour. This means an interpreter would have to spend about 80 hours with a patient before the costs of interpreting exceeded the costs of the saved time in hospital.

Failure to provide high-quality interpreting and translation support in healthcare can also lead to complaints and litigation. Quan and Lynch (2010) report that in four US states between 2005 and 2009 there were 35 claims totalling US\$ 2,289,000 in damages or settlements and US\$ 2,793,800 in legal fees due to failure to provide appropriate language services in healthcare settings.

Illustration and evidence

A study conducted by the University of Ljubljana interviewed 38 asylum-seekers and put particular emphasis on the use of translators and interpreters (see Pokorn & Čibej 2017).

The results show that even when migrants have managed to learn the host language, they often still lack the proficiency to interact in some specialised settings such as asylum procedure interviews and appointments with lawyers and doctors, as evidenced by a 26-year-old interviewee from Iran who occasionally interprets in health-care settings:

‘Yes, outside or at the doctor. From Farsi to English. But I don’t understand a lot of words for doctor, for body, but I’m learn very hard.’

A similar point was made by a 22-year-old interviewee from Afghanistan who had been in Slovenia at the time of the interview for 5 years:

‘I used translators and interpreters most at the beginning, when I didn’t know Slovene. I needed them mostly with official dealings such as interviews or other obligations, or at the hospital when speaking to a doctor, I always needed someone who could explain what I wanted to say.’

Translation and interpreting thus play important roles at the beginning of the inclusion process and provide support in some of the most vulnerable situations a migrant faces.

Policy implications

In light of these findings, public service interpreting and translation should be financed by the state and provided to recently arrived migrants in high-risk situations, in particular in legal, police and healthcare settings. Such support would help speed up the inclusion process while also reducing costs, especially in healthcare.

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Special topics

- 65 How should the concept of inclusion be applied to mobile retirees?
- 66 Are multilingual individuals more creative?
- 67 How does the protection of multilingualism operate in EU consumer legislation?
- 68 How can the manipulation of ethnic cleavages for geopolitical ends be prevented?
- 69 Does monolingualism in global business affect the teaching and practice of finance?
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65 How should the concept of inclusion be applied to mobile retirees?

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Ann Elisabeth Laksfoss
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The MIME framework, as well as current political and scientific discussions about immigrant integration, addresses inclusion in host society. In the case of international retirement migration (IRM), however, inclusion often takes place in expatriate communities, defined by common nationality and common language, rather than in relation to the host society. Many retired migrants also have a poor knowledge of the host country language. How should local policymakers approach the specific constellation of mobility and inclusion represented by relatively privileged elderly intra-European migrants?

What does research tell us?

“International retirement migration” refers to retirees from the Western world who move, permanently or temporarily, to a new country in search of better quality of life. Climate, health and other lifestyle factors are often important drivers for the migrants, together with economic factors.

International retirement migration differs from other types of migration in ways that make full social, cultural and linguistic inclusion in the host societies difficult to achieve. It is hard to learn a new language at old age and persons who migrate after retirement have fewer opportunities than labour migrants to meet with locals. Mobile retirees often migrate seasonally between their old and new home countries, and are therefore absent from their new home places parts of the year. Moreover, many retired migrants live in housing estates constructed for, and sold directly to, foreign buyers. All these factors are obstacles to language learning and social inclusion.

The retirees’ low degree of inclusion in host societies also reflects the particular sociolinguistic landscapes that have developed in important IRM destinations. These are characterised by extensive expatriate communities (ethnic clubs, churches, businesses and social networks), a pervasive use of English as a lingua franca, and an overlap between IRM and tourism. These linguistic landscapes allow many mobile retirees to obtain a good quality of life and to experience a high degree of inclusion within expatriate settings without learning the language of the host country.

Yet there is a concern in the scientific literature that inclusion in ethnic enclaves rather than into the majority society may be detrimental to overall social cohesion. There are also examples of local concern and frustration in IRM destinations about failure of migrant retirees to integrate. However, serious xenophobic or anti-immigrant sentiments have generally not been reported in relation to this category of migrants.

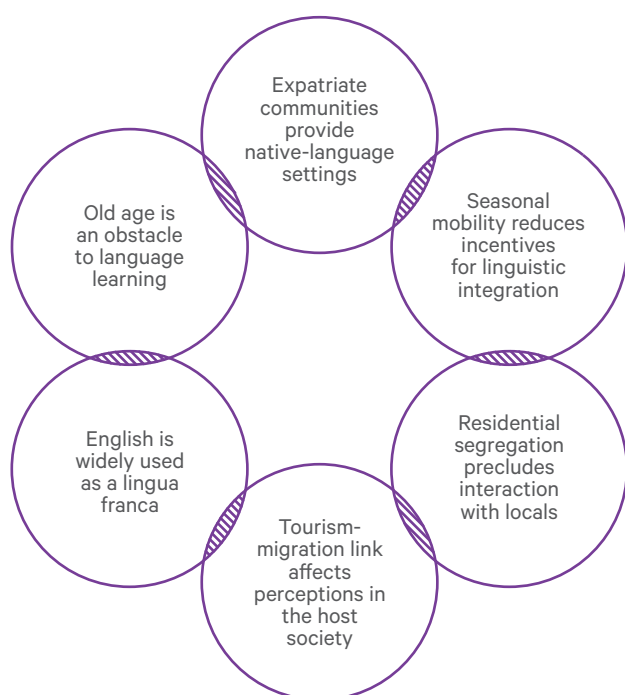
Illustration and evidence

Research in the MIME project shows a number of ways in which host country authorities may try to facilitate the inclusion of retired migrants. They may promote meetings, interaction and exchange between migrant retirees and natives. They may support and collaborate with local expatriate organisations, arrange joint festivals and celebrations, and initiate various social and educational encounters.

This may include organised exchanges between foreign retirees who want to practise the host country language and natives who want to improve their English (or other foreign languages), for example by inviting retired migrants to local schools. More generally, local authorities could make information about cultural and other events available to foreign residents, in their own languages, in order to make them feel welcome. Ethnic clubs, associations and churches may be useful partners for collaboration and for disseminating relevant information.

Housing developments in important coastal IRM destinations have clearly been detrimental to inclusion. Numerous housing estates constructed for foreign residents are located outside city centres, sometimes with little access to public transport. These areas are large expatriate enclaves isolated from neighbourhoods with native inhabitants. Better urban planning may counteract ethnic residential segregation and facilitate interaction between native residents and migrants.

FACTORS CONDITIONING LANGUAGE LEARNING AND INCLUSION IN INTERNATIONAL RETIREMENT MIGRATION



However, research in the MIME project suggests that full inclusion in the host society is not really an option in the particular social and linguistic environments that currently characterise important European IRM destinations. Instead, inclusion mainly occurs in expatriate communities. At the same time, intra-European migration gives many mobile retirees an improved quality of life. If these retirees met greater demands for linguistic adaptation, fewer would probably migrate. In addition, partly due to its association with tourism and relative privilege, retirement migration does not usually give rise to any serious hostility, protests or other xenophobic reactions in host societies.

Policy implications

Host societies may encourage local cross-cultural encounters and take measures to counteract residential segregation in order to improve inclusion. Yet the inclusion of retired migrants, at least in the larger IRM destinations, will to a great extent take place in expatriate communities based on common national origin and language. Findings from the MIME research suggest that local policy-makers should not expect or demand far-reaching linguistic inclusion on the part of retired migrants, but instead develop institutional and linguistic approaches to manage the current situation.

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66 Are multilingual individuals more creative?

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It is often claimed that diversity breeds creativity. This, however, is a vast question that gives rise to considerable debate. The specific question of the multilingualism-creativity link is part of this debate. If multilingualism is found to be positively related to creativity, this could help justify promoting the learning and use of several languages in various contexts – from education to business and personal life.

This question is conceptually and empirically challenging, and raises a number of related questions: What is creativity? How can we measure it and quantify its relationship with multilingualism? Can we specifically target linguistic diversity, and distinguish it from other forms of personal experience related to cultural diversity? Can results found at the individual level be generalised to other levels (such as small groups or entire societies)?

What does research tell us?

Essentially, creativity can be seen as a complex cognitive ability: the integration of several abilities (e.g. divergent thinking, reasoning, general and domain-specific knowledge), together leading to the production of new ideas, as well as their evaluation, selection, and elaboration. Many other factors, such as personality traits or environmental opportunities, are closely related to creativity. However, a definition focusing on the cognitive aspects of creativity certainly captures many of its essential dimensions. Studies on the impact of bilingualism on *cognition* have shown that bilingualism, manifested through language switching, was positively related to cognitive processes such as attentional flexibility and the ability to filter out irrelevant information.

Moreover, the benefits of bilingualism for such cognitive processes seems to generalise quite well to other cognitive processes, both in verbal and non-verbal domains (Bialystok, 2017).

However, the specific study of the link between creativity (as distinct from *cognition*) and *multilingualism* (as opposed to *bilingualism*) has received little attention so far. Some pioneering studies suggest that bilingualism is indeed conducive to creativity, but many of them are exclusively focused on specific populations such as immigrants, children, or high-proficiency bilinguals. Moreover, it is also often unclear, in these studies, whether it is actually the language skills *per se* that are conducive to creativity or the overall multicultural experience that often comes with multilingualism.

Illustration and evidence

Original empirical research carried out in the context of the MIME project has allowed further testing of the multilingualism-creativity hypothesis, avoiding the limitations mentioned above. The data collected in four mutually compatible studies (with a total sample size of 592 persons) has been used to test a variety of models with advanced statistical methods.

In this study, multilingualism was conceptualised as a set of aptitudes, combining the total number of languages known, as well as productive and receptive abilities in a second, third and fourth language (assessed with a standard instrument based on *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*).

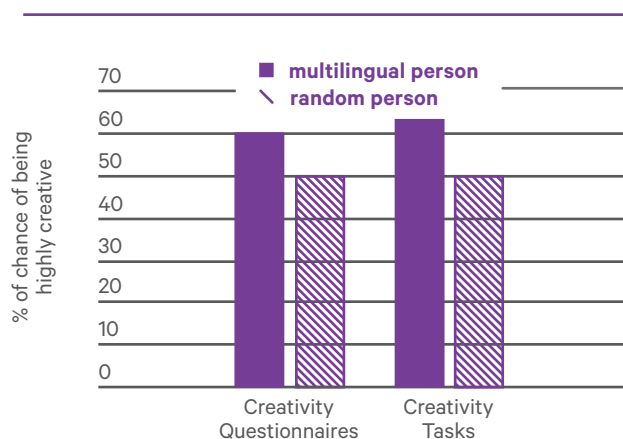
Creativity was assessed with two sets of variables: (1) creativity questionnaires, which combine information on overall idea generation and idea selection ability, as well as information on creative activities and achievements in several domains (e.g. visual arts, music, science); and (2) creativity tasks, which combine the scores obtained in three different tasks (these scores were based both on peer rating and on objective rating procedures).

Summarising these results, the figure below shows that, for both sets of creativity measures, a person randomly selected in the population has a 50% chance of having a creativity score above the mean, while if this person is multilingual, this probability increases to about 60%. These are average values, and the more multilingual a person is, the higher the chance of her being creative.

Multilingualism is also related to foreign experience. Multilingual people, on average, tend to have travelled and lived abroad more often, and additional analyses show that such experience is also positively related to creativity. Even when taking this and additional factors such as age, gender or education into account, the impact of multilingualism remains positive and significant, especially on creativity tasks.

Policy implications

At this point, we can say that it is very plausible that, at the individual level, multilingualism favours creativity – directly, but also indirectly through multicultural experience.



In other words, designing policies aimed at increasing multilingualism should translate into higher creativity. In particular:

- ▶ foreign language learning may be advocated on the grounds of its likely beneficial impact on creativity and general cognition, and for the “boost” effect it provides to multicultural experience, which is, in turn, also related to creativity;
- ▶ this effect is clearer for skills in a broader range of languages, suggesting that exposure to more than one foreign language is particularly beneficial.

Even though a positive correlation between multilingualism and creativity was found at the individual level, the transposition of these findings to groups (and, by extension, to an entire society) is not straightforward. However, desk research suggests that multilingualism and, more generally, cultural diversity are also positively related to creativity at the group level, and may then be conducive to innovation. Contributions in social psychology have shown that groups with no internal diversity are very vulnerable to groupthink; people in such groups often strongly desire consensus, leading to premature and often suboptimal decisions. Conversely, groups including at least one minority member appear to be more creative, arguably because minorities stimulate divergent thinking and multiple perspectives.

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67 How does the protection of multilingualism operate in EU consumer legislation?

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Multilingualism is a frequent flash point in the tensions between the economic integration of the European Union and the sovereignty of the member states. The latter have jurisdiction over the linguistic regime applicable on their respective territory, which results in the need for citizens to use or to know a specific language. Most of the time, rules are laid down in order to protect one or more national or official languages. These national requirements may come into conflict with primary and/or secondary European Union law that prohibits any domestic provision which constitutes a restriction to its application, except on reasonable grounds.

What does research tell us?

Consumer law is a field in which the EU legislator has adopted legislation in order to regulate the use of various languages. However, this legislation does not fully harmonise the linguistic aspects of the relationship between traders and consumers. This is due to the lack of a general EU competence in this area.

Therefore, the regulations adopted by the EU legislator are mainly addressed to Member States and concern specific areas. Regulations usually do not impose obligations directly to the economic agents to use a specific language. Rather, they prevent Member States from narrowing the choices that such actors can make to opt for one language or another when entering into an economic relationship with a consumer. The EU legislator thus adopts broad linguistic criteria (having no linguistic competences as such, the EU cannot request economic agents to use a specific language).

EU Member States will have to implement, within their respective legal arrangements, EU directives on consumer protection, and economic agents will have to comply with the specific language requirements of national laws adopted as a consequence (see figure).

Illustration and evidence

Consider examples of EU-level language requirements in the area of goods, for example with respect to labelling and marketing, which may be seen as “selling arrangements”. Some regulations require economic operators to use a “language easily understood by the consumer”, while others require the use of an “official language(s) of the Member States”. When implemented at the national level, these requirements acquire a specific meaning: the “official language of the Member State” in France will be French; a “language easily understood by the consumer” will be, at least, French and Dutch in Belgium.

Where services or contracts are involved, there is no specific EU linguistic rule, but a general linguistic consistency requirement for the conclusion and implementation of contracts. At the national level, this requirement implies that economic agents must give consumers adequate information about the languages in which a contract can be concluded or a service provided, and the transaction will then have to take place in the language agreed.

Policy implications

The broad language requirements adopted at the EU level can be interpreted by the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU). CJEU case law frames the EU language requirements, narrowing member states' leeway when adopting language requirements. For example, a "language easily understood by the consumer" is, in most of the cases, meant to be the official language of the Member State concerned, except if there is another easily understood language, and one or more other languages that can be added by the economic agent (in addition to the "language easily understood" or the "official language").

Although the judicial system works well for interpreting the linguistic criteria above in case of dispute, there is, however, a need to fine-tune the language requirements in accordance with the objectives pursued by EU legislation. Currently, there are no precise criteria for the EU legislator to apply in choosing one or another language requirement when adopting new legislation. Developing such criteria would surely help.

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EU CONSUMER LEGISLATION AND MULTILINGUALISM REGULATION IN THE EU – “VERTICAL” IMPLICATION:



68 How can the manipulation of ethnic cleavages for geopolitical ends be prevented?

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A major strength of the EU lies in the vast cultural, historical and linguistic diversity of its members. However, third parties, whether state or non-state actors, can exploit the multilingual environment, with adverse social and political consequences. Such actions may compromise geopolitical security at the level of the EU or of its individual member states, or within some of their constituent ethno-linguistic minorities. Taking specific steps to increase the societal resilience of all linguistic groups, especially minorities sharing similar traits with the potential third party, can help the EU and its partners avoid tensions, maintain stability, and increase security. This Vademecum entry examines the case of the EU's largest neighbour, the Russian Federation, bearing in mind, however, that this situation is not unique.

What does research tell us?

Since the annexation of the Crimean peninsula and external interference in Ukrainian domestic affairs, scholars and policymakers across the EU have devoted significant attention to investigating and searching for solutions to the new “hybrid threat” (Racz: 2015; Winnerstig: 2014). Using various soft- and hard- power tools like disinformation or intelligence operations, third parties may, in order to advance their own interests, attempt to influence another country's domestic affairs just below the threshold of overt conflict. Multilingualism has been a key ingredient of hybrid strategies. By exploiting the multi-ethno-linguistic backgrounds of minorities sharing a historical, ethnical or linguistic bond with the third party, domestic communities can be turned against their national political establishment.

The Russian Federation has explicitly prioritised the protection of Russian-speakers abroad in its foreign policy security policy and military doctrine. Due to the Soviet-era legacy and migratory flows in the 20th century, there are substantial Russian-speaking communities both within the EU (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) and in Eastern Partnership countries with strong historical, cultural and linguistic ties to the Russian Federation. The EU has adopted several policy measures to ward off potentially destabilising initiatives that might manipulate the presence of these communities for confrontational purposes. In May 2015, all the EU foreign ministers agreed to develop proposals on how to counter hybrid threats and foster resilience¹. The same year, the East StratCom Task Force (EEAS) was established, with the explicit mandate to spot and rebut disinformation across the EU². The *European Centre of Excellence for Countering Hybrid Threats* (Helsinki, Finland) has also contributed to finding practical solutions³.

Developing resilience, especially at the societal level, is one of the possible responses to hybrid threats. At state level, resilience lies in having strong and stable political and military institutions, fighting corruption and overcoming other major vulnerabilities among all ethno-linguistic communities. The size of the minority community itself, its geographical proximity to the third party, and the influence of media controlled by the third party must also be taken into account, since they are key dimensions in the handling of geopolitically delicate situations. Within the state, societal resilience depends in particular on people's sense of belonging, the degree of inclusiveness of the economy, risk perception, language skills, and other abilities within both the majority and the minority ethno-linguistic communities.

Illustration and evidence

The case of the Baltic States provides an example of successful resistance to hybrid threats. Latvia and Estonia have managed to maintain a high level of national security by integrating into the EU and NATO, while almost completely avoiding any major conflict among its ethno-linguistic communities. At the state level, these Baltic nations do not necessarily meet all the conditions needed to withstand hybrid threats: they are geographically close to Russia, have large linguistic minority groups and must deal with the strong presence of media controlled by the Russian authorities. The Russian-speaking community in Latvia has displayed considerable linguistic and cultural vitality within the integration policy pursued in Latvia after restoration of independence (1991). However, polls, interviews and statistics reveal that thousands of Russian speakers are still failing to apply for Latvian citizenship; sympathies for the Soviet era still appear to be widespread in a significant share of the Russian-speaking community; many deplore Latvia's membership of NATO, and a major part of the community wants to strengthen ties with Russia. At the same time, opinion polls demonstrate strong loyalty among the Russian-speaking community to Latvia. Only a small part of this community has ever heard of Russian government-sponsored NGOs in Latvia (or their leaders) supporting the concept of a "Russian world"; few want to live in Russia, or are inclined to participate in large-scale protests to support such an agenda. Research from neighbouring Estonia demonstrates similar tendencies among the Russian-speaking community there.

Policy implications

Balance between national security, inclusiveness, and the resilience of all ethno-linguistic groups in countries both within the EU and in its national context can be enhanced by the following policies:

- ▶ establishing a system of measurable indicators of societal resilience as a practical analytical tool, which would help to measure the effectiveness of minority community inclusion policies adopted at the EU and national levels;

- ▶ commissioning a pan-EU level study on hybrid campaigns and threats and potential solutions for fostering resilience of both majority and minority language communities in EU member states and partner nations;
- ▶ increasing cooperation between various specialised institutions that investigate hybrid threats as well as means to foster resilience and counter propaganda, internet-based trolling, fake news and disinformation;
- ▶ promoting media literacy among all linguistic groups, especially in the post-Soviet geographical space, which according to the *EU vs. disinformation* weekly reports is often targeted by disinformation campaigns (especially in Russian). It could be accompanied by the establishment of a pan-European Russian-language media channel equivalent in terms of resourcing and contents management to the BBC or CNN as an alternative source of information for Russian-speaking communities living within the EU.

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1. Council of the EU, 18 May 2015 (8971/15).....
 2. East StratCom Task Force publishes weekly reviews on disinformation; see www.euvdisinfo.eu
 3. "Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Spain, Sweden, the UK and the USA. Participation in the Centre is open to EU Member States and NATO Allies. The EU and NATO are invited to join the activities of the Centre" www.hybridcoe.fi/about-us

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69 Does monolingualism in global business affect the teaching and practice of finance?

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Given their historical anchoring in North American research, most mainstream financial theories take US laws and institutions as the “normal” environment, which the proponents of these theories expected to expand and ultimately prevail worldwide. Consequently, English has become the dominant language of finance both within firms and in the lecture halls where economics and business administration are taught. Thus, many non-native speakers use English in their daily work. Although they may master the professional and technical jargon related to their daily work, they are not always able to fully take into account the implied and implicit normative stance of mainstream finance theory. This applies in particular to embedded views on institutional and legal issues.

In parallel, Financial firms from English-speaking countries have gone global. This first raises problems regarding command and reporting, in which multilingualism is considered as an obstacle. English (or rather, a heavily acronymic professional jargon based on English) has progressively become the lingua franca of management in many multinational companies operating on a global scale. The second issue is related to the corporate governance dimension of companies and their efforts to develop unified internal and external channels of communication.

What does research tell us?

One plausible consequence of the observed trends is an increasing homogenization of languages and worldviews in financial circles. A survey conducted in the MIME project reveals the extent to which this homogenization affects the values governing professional practice.

The global financial crisis has revealed some weaknesses in the ethics of financial and corporate cultures. The data suggests several non-mutually exclusive explanations: (a) the pre-eminence of technical approaches in financial and management education, with little concern for ethical implications; (b) the gap typically observed between the professional context of work in finance and “real life”; a corollary is that actors operating in an abstract professional environment have difficulties in recognising the remote concrete consequences of their decisions; (c) the lack of tools for proper early identification of the ethical dilemmas that can arise. Consequently, problems are approached and treated as purely technical issues, whereas their ethical dimensions and the related dilemmas are not addressed by institutions. The question, then, is whether widespread monolingualism in the teaching and practice of finance contributes to this situation by encouraging ethical blindness.

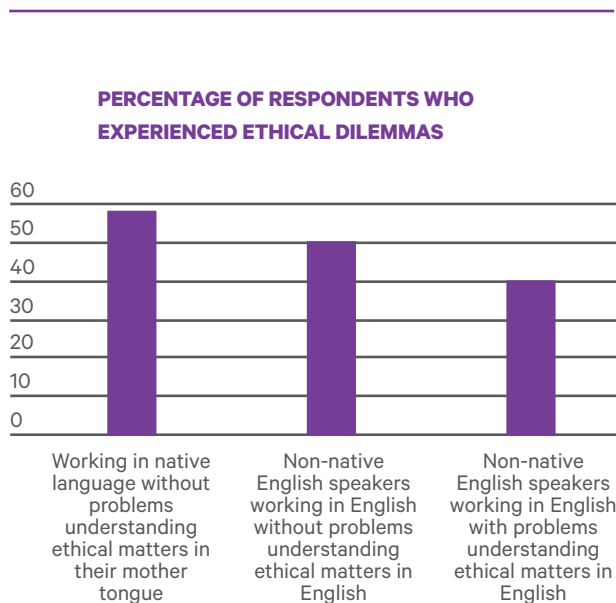
Illustration and evidence

Two groups of respondents (students and practitioners) were surveyed and asked to answer two sets of questions. A first set of questions probes the width and depth of their multilingualism, in terms of skills and use. A second set of questions relates to respondents’ capacity to handle complex ethical questions in English, as compared with other languages that they master well. The results suggest that their understanding of, and sensitivity to, ethical dilemmas is poorer in English than in another language – often the respondent’s mother tongue. As shown in the figure, the percentage of respondents who experience ethical dilemmas is lower among non-native English speakers working in English and the percentage who experience problems in understanding ethical issues in English (40%) than among those working in their mother tongue – including English – and who can deal more fluently with ethical issues.

This result has two major implications. First, the role of English as lingua franca in finance is usually restricted to technical matters of “business as usual”. The fact that non-natives’ English language skills are biased towards technical content makes communication in English about “soft” matters, such as ethical dilemmas, problematic in many multinational companies. This may lead to a general overall decline in ethical awareness among professionals, as shown in the figure.

Policy implications

Although English has become the lingua franca of finance and business, it is (still) not the lingua franca in which people are most at ease in identifying and discussing associated ethical and values issues. This increases the asymmetry between technical ability and ability deal with ethical challenges. By preventing ethical dilemmas from being addressed when they arise, this paradox may sow the seeds of future financial crises. The promotion of “deep” multilingualism (which implies a finer understanding of the language, beyond technical linguistic skills) is therefore an important part of corporate responsibility.



This finding further suggests that multilingualism can help strengthen the ethical and responsibility frameworks used in Europe, as presented in the *Guide to Corporate Governance practices in the European Union* (IFC 2015), and adds weight to the multilingual approach proposed by the *Language Guide for European Business* (European Commission 2011). There is a recognition that an ethical corporate culture is crucial, but difficult to regulate with “hard laws”. However, as proposed by the *Corporate Governance Policy in the European Union – through an Investor’s Lens* (Pitt-Watson & Dallas, 2016), the EU can press for more consistent Environmental Social and Governance (ESG) disclosures. The promotion of multilingualism within companies can then be included in ESG frameworks. Finally, more attention should be paid to language diversity in schools of economics and business to avoid the increasing anglicization of economic and financial disciplines and properly balance students’ language skills.

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70 Does the Roma approach to language learning hold useful lessons for language education policy?

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The Roma population in Europe are frequently poor and marginalised, with often only limited access to formal education, let alone education through the medium of their main community language, Romani. In addition, the Roma's nomadic tradition entails constant encounter and confrontation with other languages – in particular those spoken by majority sedentary population across Europe. Arguably in response to these challenges, the Roma have developed an exclusively oral, flexible and informal method for acquiring foreign languages. This unique experience may hold valuable elements for novel approaches to language policy in a time of growing mobility.

What does research tell us?

Research on multilingual Roma in Bihor, Romania, has brought to light an approach to language learning that can be described as “learning all from all”. This approach is embedded in the community, where it is socially constructed and transmitted. Pedagogical studies do not specifically describe such a method, but it displays similarities to the Michel Thomas method of language learning, which focuses on orality, confidence in the easy transfer of knowledge, and identification of linguistic similarities and simplifications¹. It also dovetails with some features of Maria Montessori's emphasis on a pleasant learning environment in multi-age groups.

The Roma approach remains unusual, because it is meant to help the traditional Roma groups come to terms with the linguistic implications of mobility, relying on their own resources, independently of any formal education system.

In addition to being exclusively oral, its key features are flexibility and constant adaptation to context, openness to improvisation and improvement by talented members, and inclusion of the entire group. It has two main goals: (i) ensuring immediate linguistic interactions with non-speakers of Romani as possible customers for the Roma's commodities and services, and (ii) allowing Roma to quickly identify new opportunities. It can however be approached in terms of standard facets of an educational process, namely: (i) teaching and learning content; (ii) teacher and student roles; (iii) educational techniques.

Illustration and evidence

Targeted teaching and learning content: The approaches emphasise lexical elements and effectively pick up approximate phonetics, while the generative structures – the regular topics in formal learning – are not considered to be of significant interest. Vocabulary is selected to be effective in context, and for specific users. The quality of the contents shared is guaranteed by the *pakiv* (Roma honour), and willingness to share them correctly and effectively derive from *phralipe* (Roma brotherhood).

Flexible teacher and student roles: a focus on role rather than status allows smart children, young people or women to operate as equals, when sharing knowledge, with respected elders. For example, a girl of 13, the only literate family member, became the family interpreter and “teacher” in France. Access to new technologies facilitates the shift from status to role.

Learning techniques rely on group encouragement in attitudes, procedures and assessments that favour the learning progress.

Attitudes play a crucial role, and the Roma show acute awareness of the group's language-learning needs, searching for opportunities to pick up as much as possible from any resource and to attract group support for this. New acquisitions are enjoyed, but also advertised to and shared with other group members. In addition to generating prestige within the group, these attitudes foster positive experiences in learning or in coping linguistically in different contexts.

The traditional Roma "Learning everything from everyone" approach is a group method oriented towards group needs and group learning. Its simplicity, as well as its stress-free, and inexpensive, character recommend it for other groups confronting similar social, cultural and economic conditions. Thus, this method mainly seems to be used by poor people in mobility, including socioeconomically vulnerable adults on the labour market, such as transient farm workers, who have often had little access to literacy.

Policy implications

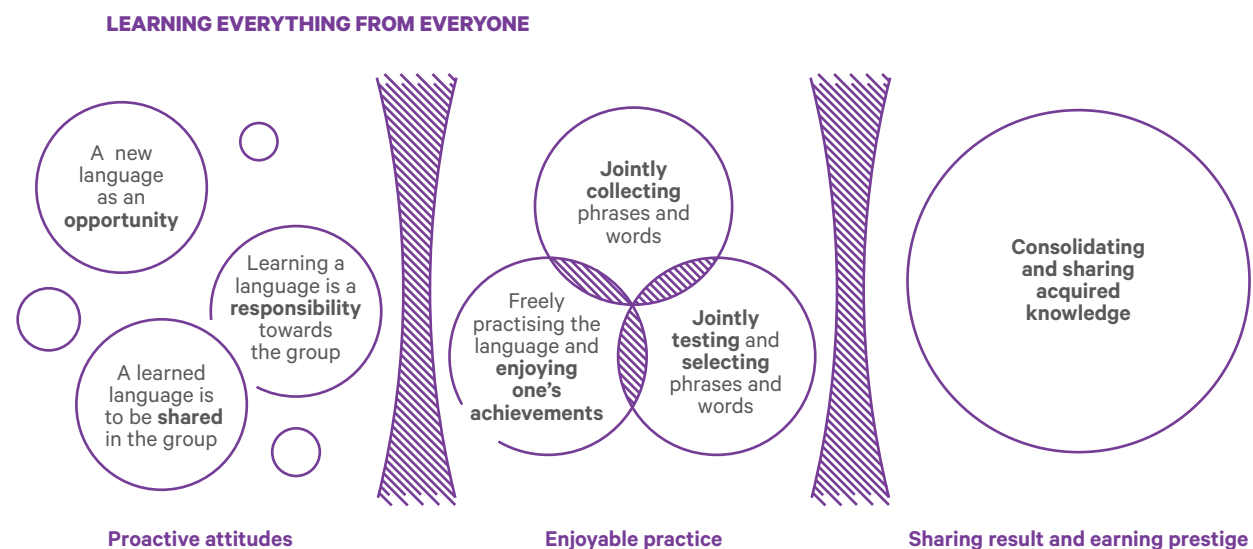
EU support for language skills development as a practical asset for underprivileged groups could explore the possibilities of transferring the Roma experience to these other categories of potential users.

Multilingual Roma, who are familiar with the "Learning everything from everyone" approach, as well as educated members of the Roma community who have also benefited from formal techniques in their own language learning experience, are the obvious helpers. Pilot schemes involving Roma activists, supported by EU and monitored by the local or regional authorities, could be set up to test the effectiveness of the transfer, monitoring not just the development of language skills, but other socioeconomic indicators.

1. www.michelthomas.co.uk/how-it-works.php accessed May, 2017.

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71 What can be done to help mobile retirees in need of institutional care?

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The most serious problems that arise in the context of international retirement migration concern retirees in need of care who do not speak the local language sufficiently well and who lack the economic means to stay in a private hospital or nursing home where they can use their native language. These are older people suffering from severe physical or mental illnesses. What can policymakers do to help these people?

What does research tell us?

Intra-European retirement migration is mostly a relatively privileged form of mobility. Retirees from Northern Europe move to retirement destinations where they can live off their pensions and where a warmer climate and other amenities enable them to have a comfortable life. Several studies show that retirees often do not learn much of the host country language, but that they usually get along well using either their native language or English. Yet, as they grow older and their health deteriorates, their situation may become problematic.

In such cases, host societies can usually only offer public care in native-language institutions, whereas the retirees' former home countries or municipalities may be unwilling to help if the retirees have officially emigrated and are no longer registered in their social security systems. For seriously ill elderly people in need of care at a hospital or nursing home, inability to speak the local language may constitute a serious problem, especially in cases involving hearing problems and dementia. Insufficient communication due to language limitations may lead to isolation and worsen physical and mental health conditions. Such conditions may also, in turn, contribute to declining linguistic abilities.

Home nursing, home-help services and support for relatives of sick people may also be difficult to access for those who do not speak the local language.

Illustration and evidence

A case study of Scandinavian retirees living in the Alicante province in Spain, conducted in the MIME project, highlights the situation of older migrants in poor health. Public elderly care in Spain is less developed than in the Scandinavian countries and retired migrants in need of help or institutional care mostly used private service providers. There were a few private nursing homes for Scandinavian retirees who needed assistance in their daily life, with Scandinavian-speaking staff, access to Scandinavian TV channels, and meals and other daily routines adapted to Scandinavian habits. Home care services with Scandinavian-speaking personnel were available as well. Yet private alternatives were expensive, especially for those who needed long-term institutional care.

Retirees who did not speak Spanish, who could not take care of themselves and who were unable to pay for private care might end up in distress in their own homes or socially isolated in a Spanish institution. Welfare workers from a Scandinavian church or volunteers from the Scandinavian community might come to visit and provide some help, but the best solution in such cases often seemed to be returning to the retirees' former home country.

'Permanent exit' did in fact appear as an important linguistic strategy. Many retirees did not want to be dependent on institutional care in a foreign country, where they could not use their native language.

They had made the decision to move abroad under the assumption that they would be able to return ‘home’ should they fall seriously ill.

Key informants said that those who wanted to return could usually do so. Scandinavian consulates and churches as well as international hospitals sometimes helped with repatriation. Yet retirees who were unable to arrange their own return, due to for example serious illness, dementia or alcoholism – or who were unwilling to return – might not find a satisfactory solution.

Formal problems regarding access to health care and social benefits in the former home country may also arise if retirees are registered as residents in Spain. Former home countries have different practices in this regard, partly depending on how they apply current EU regulations on the coordination of social security systems.

Policy implications

National authorities in sending and destination countries should develop procedures, if necessary on a bilateral basis, to provide adequate care to seriously ill retired migrants who do not speak the local language. One example may be to develop collaboration between nursing homes in host societies and higher education institutions in the countries of origin, in order to facilitate internships and vocational training for future medical doctors, nurses and other health workers in important IRM destinations. A few such initiatives already exist in Spain.

Yet there are cases where repatriation is clearly the best option. Repatriation may be a politically sensitive issue in home societies if retirement migration is associated with ‘cherry-picking’ of fiscal advantages and social benefits, especially in those cases where host societies implement various favourable tax schemes in order to attract well-off foreign retirees. Such fiscal under-cutting may be detrimental to intra-European cohesion and solidarity in general. It may, in particular, undermine efforts to create legitimate exit opportunities for mobile retirees who would, at a late stage of their lives, need to return to their former home countries.

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72 How can multilingualism be promoted in EU consumer legislation?

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There is no unique EU approach regarding language requirements applying to member states in the framework of “business to consumer” (“B2C”) relations. This situation may lead to legal uncertainty.

What does research tell us?

Language requirements change from one piece of EU legislation to another, and they are not necessarily consistent. Some illogical situations may even arise. For example, in the area of labelling, the linguistic requirement applied to the labelling of food for animals (mandating the use of “the official language of the Member State”) appears to be more stringent than the linguistic requirement applied to the labelling of food for “humans” (only requiring the use of a “language easily understood by the consumer”). There is no doubt that the “official language of the Member State” offers better protection to the consumers in a specific state, making it difficult to understand why the EU legislator offers more protection for animal than for human food.

Illustration and evidence

The current situation presents a variety of linguistic rules applicable to the various areas of consumer law regulated by EU law. The diversity existing in this field may lead to legal uncertainty as member states, economic operators and consumers cannot rely on a consistent approach. Rather, EU legislation seems to use a case-by-case approach. Linguistic criteria are not chosen for a specific reason, such as the vulnerability of the consumers concerned, the area where a good or service is sold, etc. This legal ambiguity may create uncertainty and inefficiency.

Policy implications

Improvements to the EU language requirements may be envisaged, bearing in mind that founding treaties do not include specific competencies enabling the EU to regulate language use in the member states. Two specific needs must be met in order to promote multilingualism in EU consumer legislation.

The first need concerns the adaptation of language rules for consumer protection to ensure overall consistency. This mainly applies to the field of goods and selling arrangements. It could apply to services as well, but the current linguistic consistency requirement applicable most of the time in this area (together with the prohibition of unfair commercial practices) suffices to solve potential linguistic problems. Imposing specific criteria here would sometimes prevent economic operators and consumers from choosing a language other than the “official language” or the “easily understood language”. In certain cases, this would not be to the advantage of the contracting parties, as there is more room for negotiation in the area of services than in the area of goods. Therefore, imposing specific linguistic criteria would narrow this negotiation margin as well as the free movement of services; assessing when this restriction is beneficial and when it is not is a question that requires further examination, with particular attention to the principle of proportionality.

When it comes to goods and selling arrangements, there is a need to adjust the existing system, but not to replace it entirely. Few disputes have arisen between (1) economic operators and consumers and (2) member states.

Since the 1990s, very few language requirements imposed on member states and economic operators have ended up in a dispute before the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU). Even in such disputes, the solid case law of the CJEU allowed them to be solved (most issues concerned labelling).

However, even if this case law exists and solves most of the problems, there is still a need for the EU legislator to categorise language requirements in a better way.

- ▶ First, in the field of goods and selling arrangements, it is useful to create a scale in the language requirements, depending on the objective pursued by the EU legislator and the situation considered. The criteria of “a language easily understood by the consumer”, as interpreted by the CJEU (which, in most of the cases, means the official language, except if there is another language more easily understood by the average consumer, alongside one or more other languages) should become the general rule, as it creates a balance between the need to adequately inform the average consumer (if necessary, and as a last resort, through pictograms and symbols, as interpreted by the CJEU) and the need to ensure effective free movement of goods within the EU.
- ▶ Second, when there is a need for stronger protection (e.g. for specific groups of consumers such as children): “the national language(s) of the Member States” should be applicable. This criterion is normally endorsed by the Commission and the Member States because the information is, in principle, best provided to the consumer in his/her own national language (“an easily understood language” may be different from the official language of the region where the consumer is located).

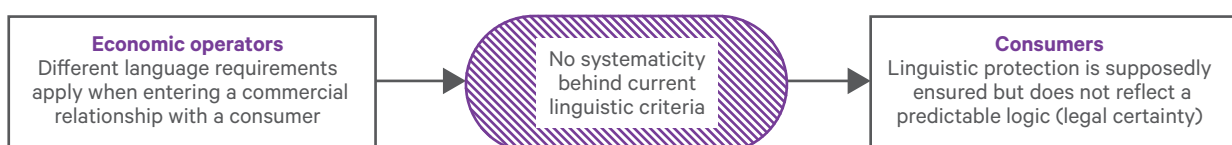
- ▶ Third, and to avoid full harmonisation of the linguistic requirements in EU consumer legislation that could lead to excessive rigidity, preventing adaptation to unforeseen situations, the EU legislator should be allowed to deal with specific situations that may not fit into the two aforementioned categories (e.g. tourists, “expats” or linguistic minorities for whom a rule such as the official language of the Member States does not help much).

The second need concerns the general promotion of multilingualism across all EU policies, including in the field of consumer protection. In this regard, Articles 21 and 22 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, which call on the EU to respect linguistic diversity, should be applied by the EU institutions. They should be seen in conjunction with Article 3 (respect for cultural and linguistic diversity) and Article 4 (respect for the national identities of the Member States) of the Treaty on the European Union, in order to promote multilingualism and linguistic diversity as a transversal objective to be included as such in every EU policy, not only as an accessory to an economic objective, as currently enshrined in EU case law.

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EU CONSUMER LEGISLATION AND LANGUAGE: HORIZONTAL IMPLICATIONS FOR GOODS



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